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HERODIAN'S
HISTORY
O F T H E
Roman Emperors,
Containing ¹⁷
Many Strange and Wonderful ⁸¹⁸
Revolutions of State

In Europe, Asia, and Africa.

ALSO,
Their most Remarkable Embassies,
Speeches, Antiquities, &c.

Together with
the most Solemn Ceremonies us'd
at the Deification of the *Roman*
Emperors.

With a Character of the
Ancient Britains.

Done from the *Greek,*
By a Gentleman at *Oxford.*

LONDON, Printed for *John Hartley,* over
against *Grays-Inn* in *Holborn.* 1698.

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HERODIAN'S HISTORY.

BOOK I.

The PREFACE.

MOST Men that have spent their Time in Collecting Histories, and retrieving the Memory of Things transacted long ago, have made it their chief Business to transmit to future Ages the Fame of their own Learning, to distinguish them in the Crowd of Authors. For which Reason they have not been so solicitous about the Truth of the Things delivered, as that they might be handed down to us with all the Advantages of

B Eloquence

Eloquence and Language ; persuading themselves, that altho in reporting Matters of great Antiquity, some Part of their Story should be Fabulous, yet the Reader would be charm'd with their Eloquence, nor would the Truth of what they related be call'd in Question. Others again, out of a private Pique and Hatred to Tyrants, or in flattering ~~Princes~~, Private Persons, or Communities, have stamp'd too great a Character upon mean and little Actions.

But as for my Part, I report Things not taken upon Trust from others, having few Witnesses, and little Authority to support them, but such as are fresh in the Memories of all Men, which I have collected with great Care and Fidelity in the ensuing *Memoirs*, hoping that the Knowledge of those great and many Occurrences which have hapned within the Compass of a few Years, will not be unwelcom to Posterity. For if we look back as far as the Reign of *Augustus*, from whence we date the *Roman Monarchy*, and from thence down to the Times

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of *Marcus*, which is about Two hundred Years, we shall not find so many Changes in the Succession to the Empire, such various Events of Foreign and Civil Wars, such Commotions of Nations, Reductions of Towns, both *Roman* and Barbarous, such Earthquakes, Plagues, Lives of Princes so monstrously extravagant, that former Ages are scarce able to furnish a Parallel. Some of these enjoy'd the Empire a long Time, but the Power of others was but short-liv'd : Nay, there are Instances of those that were only just declar'd Emperors, and lost the Power the same Day : For in Sixty Years there having been more Emperors of *Rome* than can be allow'd in common Computation for so short a Period of Time, many Things hapned which may deserve our Admiration. The more aged Emperors, being Men of Experience in Affairs, govern'd both themselves and their Subjects with great Caution and Diligence ; but others coming young to the Crown, abandon'd themselves to Ease and Pleasure ; and

in these a Spirit of Innovation was very prevalent ; and from this Disparity in their Age and Measures of Government, arose great Variety in their Actions and Manners. These Things I shall relate in Order, having regard to the Time and Reign wherein they were done.

A N
E P I T O M E
O F T H E
First Book.

THE Emperor Marcus being taken with a Fit of Sickness, and fearing lest his Son Commodus should degenerate from the Virtue of his Ancestors, as Princes usually do, he commits him to the Care and Guardianship of his Friends and Relations, and dies. Commodus succeeds him, and in the Beginning of his Reign all things are duly and regularly administered ; but afterwards being corrupted by Flatterers, he leaves the Pannonian War unfinish'd, and resolves for Rome, notwithstanding the Dissuasions of Pompeianus. At Rome he is receiv'd with Publick Rejoycings, and having

visited the Temples, and return'd Thanks to the Senate, he goes back to his Palace. Then he appoints Perennius, a Man sordidly Covetous, to the Management of Publick Affairs, and abandons himself wholly to his Pleasures. His Person was comely, his Diversions various, as Hunting, Fencing, Chariot driving, &c. But at last he arriv'd at that Pitch of Madness, that he commanded the People to call him Hercules the Son of Jupiter: And having call'd the Months after his own Name, he order'd his Statues to be erected in all the Parts of the City. Then he chang'd his Name a second time, and took up the Name and Family of a certain Gladiator deceas'd. The Calamities of those Times were look'd upon as Judgments from Heaven, punishing the Wickedness of the Prince in the Miseries of the People: Such as was a great Plague, in which he himself retir'd to Laurentum; and a Famine, occasion'd by Cleander's buying up the Corn. His Sister Lucilla first form'd a Design against his Life, after her Perennius, then Maternus, and last of

of all his Concubine Marcia, by whose Advice he was first poyson'd, and afterwards strangled, in the Calends of January.

The First Book.

THE Emperor Marcus had a great many Daughters, but only two Sons; the one, call'd *Verissimus*, died very young; he that surviv'd was named *Commodus*: Him his Father educated with all the Care imaginable, drawing together from the most remote Parts, by the Offers of considerable Pensions, Men famous for their Learning, that being always with his Son, they might instruct him in whatever was proper for him to know. His Daughters, after they were of convenient Age, he married to the most Considerable Men in the Senate, not so much regarding in the Choice of a Son-in-Law, Ancientness of Family, or Largeness of Fortune, as Probity of Manners, and Innocency of

Life; looking upon the Endowments of the Mind as the only true and lasting Blessings.

He liv'd in the constant Practice of all Sorts of Vertues; he was a great Lover and successful Studier of Antiquity, insomuch that he surpass'd most of the *Greeks* and *Romans* of his Time; the Truth whereof is attested by those Learned Remains which he left behind him, which are yet in being amongst us. As to his Behaviour, he was extremely civil and courteous to all Men; he shook Hands familiarly with all that came to him, and commanded his Guards not to deny any Man Acces to him that desir'd it. He is the only Prince that was a Philosopher, not in Notion and Speculation, but in his Conversation and Practice; and hence it was that that Age produc'd so many Wise Men; for Subjects usually propose their Prince for their Imitation, and still Copy after that Great Original.

Whatever therefore *Marcus* did, either at home or abroad, that may deserve the

the Praise of Courage or Conduct, and how he behav'd himself against the Northern and Eastern Nations, is abundantly recorded in the learned Labours of others: But as for all those Things which since the Death of *Marcus*, in the whole Course of my Life I have heard or seen, some whereof I have had more particular Experience of, as being in Publick Employments at the Time, These I have undertaken to deliver down to Posterity.

Marcus being now weakned with Age, and spent with the Cares and Fatigues of Government, whilst he was in *Pannonia* was seiz'd with a violent Fit of Sickness, and perceiving himself to be past Hopes of Recovery, was very solicitous upon the Account of his Son, who was now entring upon the State of Manhood, fearing left in the Heat and Fervour of Youth, being freed from the Influence a Father's Authority might have over him, and set at large from every Thing that might restrain him, he should disdain all honest and sober Discipline, and give himself over to Intemperance.

perance and Riot: For the Minds of Youths are apt to fall from Sobriety and Vertue into the contrary Extremes.

Besides, being a Man of great Reading and Experience, he was the more apprehensive, in regard of the many Miscarriages of Princes that came young to the Crown; such as was *Dionysius*, a Man so wholly devoted to sensual Pleasures, that he encourag'd with great Rewards the Invention of all Things that tended to the Improvement thereof. Such were the Successors of *Alexander*, whose Abuse of their Power, and Oppression of their Subjects, reflected a lasting Infamy upon his Empire; especially *Ptolemy* was so scandalously wicked, that contrary to the known Laws of the Greeks and *Macedonians*, he committed Incest with his Sister: And *Antigonus*, that he might represent *Bacchus* in all his Extravagances, debas'd his Scepter into a *Thyrse*, and his *Macedonian* Diadem into a Chaplet of Ivy.

His Fears were also encreas'd by Examples of a later Date; as by that of *Nero*,

Nero, who with unheard-of Impiety murther'd his Mother, expos'd himself publickly, and turn'd Buffoon to make Sport for the People: As likewise by *Domitian's*, who equall'd the greatest Tyrants in Inhumanity and Cruelty. Having these Images of Tyranny in his Mind, he was distracted between Hope and Fear: But the *Germans*, a Neighbouring Nation, which he had not entirely conquer'd, encreas'd not a little his Anxiety. Some of these had been perswaded to enter into a League with him; others he had subdu'd by force of Arms: But some there were whom the Terror of his Arms had dispers'd only for the present; these he thought, taking advantage of the Minority of the Prince, might renew the War: For 'tis the Custom of the *Barbarians* to take up Arms upon every little Opportunity or advantageous Conjunction. Lying under this Distraction, he order'd such of his Friends and Relations as were near his Person to be sent for, and after they were come together in his Presence, he plac'd

plac'd his Son before them, and raising himself from his Bed, spoke to this effect.

I don't wonder, Gentlemen, that you seem concern'd to see me in this Condition; for Humane Nature is apt to be touch'd with other Mens Calamities, those still affecting us the most sensibly to which we are Eye-witnesses. But besides common Humanity, there are other Reasons for your Compassion at this Time; that Love and Affection for you which I feel so plainly within my self, makes me hope, nay challenge a Return of Kindness from you. And now, Gentlemen, is the Time for me to see whether or no I have bestow'd that Time in vain which I have spent in honouring and serving you, and for you to make your Acknowledgments, and shew that you are not unmindful of the good Offices I have done you. You see my Son, whom your selves have educated, entering upon the Estate of Manhood, and standing in need of a Pilot to direct him (if I may so call it) in the Ocean of Life, lest through Unexperience of Affairs, he be betray'd into

into sinful and dishonest Courses. I entreat you therefore, instead of one, be to him many Fathers, in instructing and advising whatever is requisite for him to know or to do: For it is not in the Power of Riches to satisfie the boundless Appetites of Tyrants; nor can Troops of Guards, how numerous soever, stave off Dangers from a Prince, that has not gain'd the Love and Affections of his People. Those only enjoy long and happy Reigns, that are rather lov'd for their Gentleness, than fear'd for their Cruelty: And those Mens Services only that obey out of Choice, not Necessity, are free from the Suspicion of Artifice and Design. These Men are Loyal at the bottom, and never depart from their Duty unless they are provok'd to it by some violent and contumelious Usage: But 'tis hard for Men to set Bounds to their Passions, where there are none to their Power. Sound therefore in his Ears the Precepts of Virtue and Goodness, and remind him often of the Things he has heard this Day, and hereby you will make your selves happy in a Prince, and at the same Time will do the greatest Honour to my Memory,

After he had spoke these Words, his Strength fail'd him, and being unable to support himself in that Posture, he sunk gently into Bed. This affected the Company so extremely, that some of them broke out into undecent Out-cries. He liv'd afterwards a Day and a Night, and then died, to the unspeakable Grief and Affliction of all Men, leaving behind him the Memory of his Virtues, which all Ages will have in veneration. After he was dead, and the Report thereof was spread abroad, the whole Soldiery and Commons were seiz'd with a general Sorrow, and a certain Air of Melancholy appear'd in all the Parts of the Empire, none receiving the fatal News without Tears. All Men bewail'd the Publick Calamity, and, as they were variously influenc'd, lamented the Loss of their Prince, under the different Characters of a Kind Father, a Valiant General, a Gentle and Prudent Gover-
nour,

nour; and so many were the excellent Qualities of this Emperor, that they justified all these Complaints.

After the Ceremonies of the Emperor's Interment were over, the young Prince's Friends thought fit to bring him into the Camp, that he might Harangue the Soldiers, and, as it is usual for Emperors upon their Accession to the Empire, engage their Hearts to him by the Magnificence of a Donative. So publick Notice was given that they should assemble in the usual Place, at which Time *Commodus* came, and having sacrific'd to the Gods, ascended a Bench of State, erected for that purpose in the middle of the Camp; and, his Father's Friends standing around him, many of which were Persons of great Learning, he deliver'd himself to the following Effect.

Commodus his SPEECH.

I Am perswaded, Gentlemen, you are as much affected as I can be with this unhappy Accident. My Father lov'd us all equally,

equally; and while he was alive we all stood upon a Level; and I remember he was always more pleas'd with calling me Fellow-Soldier than Son, because this denoted only a Natural Relation, but that a Communication of Virtue: And carrying me in his Arms when I was a Child, would often put me into your Hands, and commit me as it were to your Faith and Protection. For which Reasons I assure my self of your Good-will and Affections, seeing by the Elder sort of you I have been educated, and to the Younger I have been all along a Fellow-Scholar in Feats of Arms. For my Father having an equal Kindness for us all, took the same Care of our Institution in every Thing that was honest or praise worthy: Upon his Decease Chance has cast the Sovereignty upon me, being no Stranger to the Imperial Line, nor Lording it in a new-gotten Throne, as those have done that went before me. I am your only Prince that have been born and bred up in the Imperial Court, untainted, as I may say, with Private Education: The Royal Purple receiv'd me at my coming into the World, and I commenc'd at the same time Man and Prince.

Reflect

Reflect upon these Things, and love and honour your Emperor, who is not the Creature of a Faction, but claims the Empire of the World by Blood and Birth-right. My Father is taken up into Heaven, and has taken his Place among the Gods. The Care and Administration of Humane Affairs is left in my Hands, and the successful Discharge of so important a Trust will depend entirely upon you. Now if we prosecute with vigour the Remainder of the War, and enlarge the Roman Empire by our Conquests, till it stretch it self to the Ocean, not only each Man will have the Glory of his respective Achievements, but we shall all in some measure honour the Memory of our Common Father, who bears and sees in his exalted State all we say or do here below; and happy we, that have such a Witness to our Actions! And know, Gentlemen, you have stronger Inducements to be valiant now than ever; for in my Father's Life time the Glory of all Great Actions was attributed to his Wisdom and Counsels: But under me, a young unexperienc'd Prince, your Courage and Bravery will be the most conspicuous, there being no

Abatement to be made upon the score of a General. Besides, your Valour at this time will have another good Effect, 'twill gain Authority to my Youth, and make me formidable to the Barbarians, who, if vigorously repul's'd in the Beginning of my Reign, will not only be quieted for the present, but restrain'd also from the like Attempts for the future.

Having thus spoke, he gave great Sums of Money to endear the Soldiery to him, and return'd to his Palace.

'Twas but a short time that the late Emperor's Friends had the Superintendency of Publick Affairs; during which Time, they were always with the young Prince, giving him good Advices and Instructions, and allowing him no more Time for Recreations than was thought requisite for his Health: But after a while, some of the Courtiers insinuating themselves into his Acquaintance, endeavour'd to debauch him. These were your Table-Flatterers, that make Sensual Pleasure the Measure of Happiness.

They

They would often take occasion to commend to him the Way of Living in Rome, telling him of the Plays, Musick-meetings, and other Diversions of the Town, and generally of the Plenty of all Things conduced to the Pleasure or Convenience of Life. On the other Hand, they cry'd down at the greatest Rate imaginable the Country about the *Ister*, as well for the Barenness of the Soil, as the perpetual Rigour and Cloudiness of the Weather: and would often be saying to him, How long will Your Majesty take up with frozen muddy Water, whilst others enjoy the warm Baths and cool Streams, with the Air, and refreshing Breezes so peculiar to *Italy*? With these and the like Suggestions they rais'd unruly Appetites in the Youth: So he call'd his Friends together, and gave them to understand, he had a great Inclination to visit his Native Country; but was sham'd to discover the Reasons inducing him thereto, and pretended violent Apprehensions of Danger from some of

the Nobility, that might seize the Imperial Palace, and drawing together a Body of Men, might as it were from a well-fortified Castle attack the Empire; adding withall, That there might be a sufficient Force rais'd out of the People for the effecting such an Enterprise.

All Men were in perfect Amazement to hear him talk in this manner, but durst not speak their Thoughts to him upon so tender a Point; till *Pompeianus*, the eldest of the Company, and one that might challenge more Authority over him than the rest, in regard of his Alliance to him, having marry'd his eldest Sister, spoke to him in these Words.

POMPEIANUS his SPEECH.

I Don't wonder, my Lord, that you desire so passionately to see your Native Country: We our selves desire it as much as you; but cannot comply with our Inclinations at this time, because Matters of a more pressing and important Nature require our Stay. As for the Satisfaction of living at Home,

Home, you may enjoy it more securely hereafter; tho' indeed every Place is Rome where the Emperor has his Court. But to leave the War unprosecuted, will not only be a Dishonour to our Empire, but may be also of dangerous Consequence: For it will animate the Barbarians to new Attempts; who will think us rather influenc'd by our Fears, than any Regards to our Country, in this sudden Removal. On the other Hand, consider how Glorious it will be for you, after a total Defeat of your Enemies, and Enlargement of your Empire as far as the Ocean, to return in Triumph to your Country, pompously attended by Kings and Nobles in Chains? These Things made the Ancient Romans so much Celebrated in all Ages. And as for the Jealousie you have entertain'd of some of the Nobility, 'tis altogether groundless, and you need apprehend nothing from that Side, for here are the most Eminent Persons of the Senate, here is the Imperial Treasure, and the whole Military Force of the Empire, bravely venturing Life and Fortune in Defence of it. And besides, your Father's Memory has confirm'd to you the Love and Loyalty of all Men.

This Speech of *Pompeianus* diverted the young Prince, and shook his Resolutions for the present. The Words of the Old Man weighed much with him, and at this Time he had nothing to alledge to justifie his Intention. Therefore he dismiss'd his Friends, and told them he would consider of it: But at last being overcome by the Importunity of his Courtiers, he would no longer consult his Friends, but immediately sent Letters to *Rome*, to signifie his Resolution to return; and having appointed such Persons as he thought fit, to guard the Banks of the *Ister*, and restrain the Incursions of the Barbarians, gave Publick Orders to prepare for a March.

After his Departure, the Persons entrusted with the Affairs upon the *Ister* were very vigilant in their respective Posts, and in a short Time conquer'd vast Numbers of the Barbarians by Force of Arms; others by Offers of Money were easily brib'd into an Acceptance.

ceptance of Peace; for the Barbarians naturally love Money, and despise Danger, and live by Inroads and Ravages upon the neighbouring Territory, or traffick Peace for Money. Which *Commodus* knowing, and being both able and willing to purchase Security and Repose to himself at any Rate, comply'd with them in all their Demands.

After the Proclamation was made, that they should march homewards, a sort of a confus'd Joy ran through the whole Camp; every one being willing to change the Toils and Fatigues of War in an Enemy's Country, for the Pleasures and Gaieties of Peace at *Rome*. But after it was publickly known that the young Prince was returning, the *Romans* were visibly transported with Joy, all Men expecting great Things from the Presence of a Prince, who they thought would emulate his Father's Virtues. His Journey he perform'd with great Expedition, being entertain'd with great Splendor and Magnificence in the Towns he pass'd through; and generally his

Presence gave great Content and Satisfaction to all Men.

But when he came near *Rome*, the whole Senate and *Roman* People went out in full Body to meet him: They march'd with great Formality, carrying Branches of Laurel, and all sorts of Flowers that were proper for the Season. Every Man strove to be foremost in this Ceremony, both to express his Affection, and satisfie his Curiosity, in beholding the Greatest of Princes in the most flourishing Scene of his Age. And the Truth is, the *Romans* had a real Affection for him, in regard he was not only a Native of their Country, but had his whole Education amongst them, and was of Noble and Imperial Blood for Three Descents; for by his Father's Side he was descended from Persons of the most Eminent Quality in the Senate: His Mother *Faustina*, the Empress, sprung out of the Loins of Emperors, being Daughter to *Antoninus* Surnamed *Pius*, and Grand-daughter to *Hadrian* by the Mothers Side, and Great Grand-daughter to *Trajan*.

This

This is the Account of *Commodus's* Parentage. But beside the Advantages of Youth, his Person was very agreeable; he had a Manly Beauty in his Face, with a fine Shape and Figure of Body: His Eyes were languishing, and yet had a peculiar sort of Lustre: His Hair was curl'd, and yellow, resembling Flame, when he walk'd in the Sun; which made some Men fansie he was powder'd with Dust of Gold. Others thought it a Testimony of his Divinity, looking upon these as the Glories that adorn'd him at his Nativity. He had no Beard, but only Down upon his Cheeks. This was the Figure the Prince made when the People receiv'd him with *Huzza's* and Shouts of Joy, scattering Flowers and Garlands all the Way as he pass'd.

After he had enter'd *Rome*, and visit'd the Temples, he render'd Thanks to the Senate in full Assembly, and to the Soldiers that were left in *Rome*, for continuing steadfast in their Duty and Allegiance during his Absence, and then retir'd

tir'd to his Palace. Thus for a few Years he paid all the Reference imaginable to his Father's Friends, and transacted nothing without their Counsel and Direction.

But after a while he took the Government upon himself, and constituted *Perennius* an *Italian*, a Man of great Military Skill, Captain of the *Prætorian* Establishment. This *Perennius* let the Prince live at large, allow'd, nay encourag'd him in the greatest Riots and Excesses. By this Means he drew all the Affairs of the Empire that require Diligence and Application to himself, till at last he got the whole Administration into his Hands. He was a Man insatiably covetous, his Desires could never terminate in what he possess'd, but still grasp'd at something he had not. He constantly endeavour'd by Calumnies and Misrepresentations to create a Jealousie in the Prince of his Father's Friends, especially the most Rich and Noble amongst them, that the Prince might be mov'd to cut them off, and

he

he might enrich himself by their Fall.

But however the Prince was restrain'd for a Time by the Memory of his Father, and the Regard he had to his Friends; but an unlucky Accident happened, which destroy'd all the Remains of Vertue and Moderation which he yet retain'd, and utterly perverted the Bias of his Mind. The Accident was this. *Lucilla*, *Commodus* his eldest Sister, was formerly married to *L. Verus* the Emperor, whom *Marcus* had made his Colleague with him in the Empire, thinking this Alliance would be the strongest Bond of a lasting Amity between them. But it fell out, that *Verus* dy'd, and her Father married her to *Pompeianus*, and yet she retain'd the Port and Grandeur of an Empress. So it was, after *Commodus* came to the Crown, he suffer'd her to take the same State upon her, and she was in all Respects honour'd as Empress. But now *Commodus* took a Wife nam'd *Crispina*, and *Lucilla* was oblig'd to give Place to her, which gave her great Regrets; For she look'd upon all Honours

Honours done to the Empress, as indirect Affronts to her self. This put her upon Designs against the Government; but she knew her Husband's Love of *Commodus* too well to communicate any thing of that Nature to him: So she apply'd her self to *Quadratus*, a young rich Noble-man of *Rome*, (that lay under a Suspicion of intriguing with this Lady) and after she had sounded how he stood affected, made her Complaint to him, representing how she had been injur'd and disgrac'd; till at last she perswaded him to enter into Counsels fatal both to themselves and the whole Senate. For among other Senators that he drew into this Combination, there was one *Quintian*, a Man of a dauntless Spirit, and one that would undertake any Thing; him he perswaded to take a Poniard under his Clothes, and observing Time and Place proper for the Execution of his Design, to assassinate the Emperor; adding, That if that was once done, what remain'd would easily be effected, by distributing Money among the People.

In

In order to the doing this, *Quintian* posted himself in the Entrance of the Amphitheatre; the Darkness of the Place he thought would help to conceal him, and favour the Design. So when the Emperor came by, he boldly assualted him with his drawn Sword, crying aloud, *The Senate has sent you this.* As he was repeating these Words, the Emperor's Guards laid hold of him, and made him pay dear for his Madness; after he had rather discover'd, than accomplish'd his Design. This was the first Cause of the Emperor's Hatred of the Senate. That Saying made deep Impression in him, and from that Time he look'd upon all the Senators as disaffected, still keeping in Mind the Words of this bold Assassine.

Perennius made good use of this Occasion to inflame the Emperor against them. He had always advis'd him to cut off the Leading Men among them; and whoever was crush'd by his Displeasure, he still grew fat upon his Ruines, and by this Means easily became the

the richest Man of those Times. And now he made Inquiry into this Plot with great Rigour and Severity ; and *Lucilla*, with the rest of the Conspirators, and all such as were suspected to be concern'd (how slight soever the Ground of the Suspicion was) were put to Death without Mercy.

And now *Perennius* having taken out of the way all those that lov'd or were reverenc'd by the Emperor, undertook himself the Care of his Person ; and having got an unlimited Authority into his Hands, began to aspire to the Empire. And in order to the compassing his ambitious Ends, by his Interest with the Emperor, he advanc'd his Sons to the Command of the *Illyrian Army* ; and in his Ministry at home, amass'd a Treasure sufficient at any time to shake the Loyalty of the *Prætorian Soldiers*, and bring them over to his Party. His Sons in the mean time made secret Levies, that as soon as *Perennius* had assassinated the Emperor, they might follow their Father's Blow, and seize the Empire.

This

This Plot took Air very strangely : It was the Time when the Sacred Games instituted to the Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were to be celebrated. This drew together vast Multitudes of People, as is usual in *Rome* at the like Solemnities. The Emperor presides at these Games, with the Priests in their Turns. *Commodus* had seated himself in the Emperor's Box, to hear the most celebrated Actors of that Age : But when the Theatre was full, and every Man had taken his Place according to his Rank, before the Action began, there stopt out a Man in a Philosophers Habit, half naked, with a Staff in his Hand, and a Satchel hanging from his Shoulder, into the middle of the Stage, and commanding Silence, address'd himself to the Emperor, and told him, *That this was not a Time to quit the Cares of Empire, for the Diversions of Games and Publick Festivities* ; *That Perennius his Sword was drawn against him, and if he did not ward off the Blow which would suddenly be made at him, it would certainly be fatal, and he would feel it before*

fore he was aware ; That *Perennius* was raising Forces and Money to be employ'd against him, and that his Sons by secret Practices had sollicit'd the Illyrian Army to revolt : and in conclusion, if he did not take care in time to break their Measures, he was irrecoverably ruin'd.

Whether the Man was urg'd by Divine Impulse to utter these Words, or was mov'd meerly by the Prospect of Glory or Reward, I can't determine ; but the Adventure so shock'd the Emperor, that he was not able to speak for the present. As for other Men, tho' they believ'd the Man might have Ground for what he said, yet they pretended to give no Credit to him ; and *Perennius* in great Rage commanded him immediately to be apprehended and burnt for a Mad-man, and a Reporter of Vain Stories. So the Philosopher suffer'd for his unseasonable Liberty.

However, those that pretended to be zealous for *Commodus*'s Interest, made use of this Occasion to let themselves into

into Invectives against *Perennius*, whom they hated before for his intolerable Pride and Insolence of Behaviour. And it pleas'd the Gods that *Commodus* should escape, and that the Blow levell'd against him should return upon the Heads of *Perennius* and his Sons : For a short time after some Soldiers came privately from the Illyrian Camp to *Rome*, bringing along with them Pieces of Money stamp'd with the Image of *Perennius* ; and having without his Knowledge obtain'd Access to the Emperor, (tho' he was then Captain of his Life-guard) they shew'd the Pieces to him, and made a large Discovery of the whole Plot, with all the Circumstances of it, and were well rewarded for so signal a Piece of Service.

Perennius was ignorant of the whole Course of this Busines, and an Executioner was sent by Night to take off his Head, when he expected nothing less ; which was done : And a Courier is dispatch'd into *Illyria*, and order'd to make all possible haste, that he might D prevent

prevent the Fame of what had hapned at *Rome*. By him the Emperor sent Letters to *Perennius's* Son, wherein he made great Expressions of his Friendship, and Satisfaction in his Conduct, and told him, he would reward his Services abroad with better Preferment at home. The Young Man could not look thorough the Disguise, but thought the Emperor's Invitation to return was sincere: For he heard nothing of the Disaster of his Family in *Rome*, nor of any Thing that had hapned there; and he was confirm'd in his Belief when the Courier told him, that it was also his Father's Pleasure that he should return, and that he would have writ to him upon that Subject, had he not known his entire Resignation to the Emperor's Will. He was extremely regretted to leave his Designs unaccomplish'd, after he had made so great Progress in them; nevertheless, in confidence of his Father's Interest at Court, which he thought continu'd still, he set out for *Rome*. But when he came into *Italy*, he was dispatch'd

spatch'd by the Emperor's Order. This was the End of these Great Men.

And now *Commodus* constituted two Captains of the *Prætorian* Band. To intrust so great Power with a single Man, he thought was dangerous; and the dividing of it he knew would weaken it, and make it less fit to encourage Attempts against the Government, than when it was united. But notwithstanding this Caution, another Conspiracy was set on foot in a short time: The Account that is given of it, is this.

Maternus, a Soldier that had committed divers Outrages, about this time thought fit to leave the Camp, and perswaded some other Soldiers to desert with him: Out of these, and others that came in to him, he soon form'd a Party of Men of the like desperate Fortunes and Tempers with himself. With these he first plunder'd Villages, and ravag'd the Country around: But after he had furnish'd himself with Money for greater Enterprises, and had drawn together a formidable Body of Men, by Promise

of Reward and a Share of the Booty, they grew from a contemptible Band of Robbers, into a Just and Regular Army. And now they attack'd and storm'd the greatest Towns, broke open the Prisons, and set at large all the Prisoners, without distinction ; most of which, out of hope of Impunity or Reward, joyn'd themselves to them. And now with their whole Force they made an Inroad into *Gaul* and *Spain*, over-ran the whole Country, took the most considerable Towns, burnt and pillag'd them, and march'd off with the Booty.

When *Commodus* heard of the swift Advances of these Rebels, he wrote to the Prefects of his Provinces in Terms of Anger and Indignation, accusing their Conduct for not opposing the Growth of this Rebellion, and commanding them instantly to levy a Force to suppress it. The Rebels had Intelligence of this, and that an Army was raising against them, and therefore judg'd it most advisable to leave the Country where they had committed their Rav-

ges, and pass over into *Italy* ; which they did by short By-Roads, and in small Parties.

And here *Maternus*'s Ambition began to fly high, and to have the Empire in view. For he had found that all his Designs had hitherto succeeded beyond expectation ; and he knew that in this Juncture he had a desperate Game to play ; therefore he resolv'd to risque at all, and either seize the Empire, or die with Glory in the Attempt.

But he knew the Emperor's Strength, and his own Weakness, too well to engage with him upon equal Terms : For the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and generally the whole *Roman* Commons, were thought well-affected to *Commodus* ; which oblig'd him to have recourse to Policy and Cunning : so he form'd this Stratagem. In the beginning of Spring, upon a Solemn Day, the *Romans* make a pompous Procession in honour of *Cybele*, at which time the richest Furniture either Prince or Subject is Master of, is carry'd before the Goddess with great Solemnity. This

is a licentious Time for all sorts of Frolicks and Gambols, which at this Time have the Publick Countenance ; all Men are permitted to use what Disguise they please, nor is any Magistrate's Habit so sacred, but every Person that has a mind may take it upon him ; so that during the Festival tis hard to distinguish a true Magistrate from a Masquerader. This *Maternus* thought the fittest Occasion for executing his treasonable Purposes ; for he fancied if he could put himself and his Men in the Habit and Equipage of the Emperor's Guards, he might easily in that Huddle of Ceremony crowd in amongst them, and seeming Part of the Emperor's Retinue, might without Danger of Discovery assault him, and so accomplish his Design. But before the Day came for the Execution of this Stratagem, he was betray'd by some of his Accomplices, that could not brook his Advancement from a Fellow-Robber, to be their Lord and Sovereign. Whereupon *Maternus*, and all those that were engag'd in the same

traiterous

traiterous Designs, were forthwith apprehended and put to Death.

Commodus, after publick Thanksgiving and Sacrifice to the Gods, was present at the Celebration of the Festival, which was perform'd by the People with extraordinary Demonstrations of Joy, upon the Account of the Emperor's Deliverance. The Reason why the *Romans* had this Goddess in such veneration, it won't, I think, be impertinent to insert out of their own Histories, seeing it is so little known amongst the *Greeks*.

They say her Image fell originally from Heaven ; but out of what, or by whom it was made, remains uncertain ; tho' the Opinion has generally prevail'd, that it could not be made by Men. The Tradition runs, That it fell, and was first found in *Phrygia*, in a Place call'd from thence *Pessinus* ; but I find this Matter differently related from other Hands. According to these, there was heretofore an Engagement here between *Ilus* the *Phrygian* and *Tantalus* the *Lydian*. The Occasion is reported variously.

Some say, it was for taking away *Ganymede* by Force : Others, that it was only upon a Dispute about a Way. Whatever was the Occasion, both Sides maintain'd the Fight with great Obstinacy, without any apparent Advantage to either. The Slaughter was great on both Sides, and from hence, say they, the Place took its Name. And here it was that *Ganymede* was torn in Pieces by his Brother, in that fatal Endeavour to rescue him from his Lover, and immediately disappear'd ; which gave Occasion to the Report of *Jupiter's* carrying him into Heaven, and of his Consecration consequent thereupon. Here also the *Phrygians* celebrated their *Orgia* upon the Banks of the River *Gallus* ; from whence the gelt Priests of this Goddess receiv'd their Name. But when the *Roman* Power advanc'd towards its Ascendant, and they had receiv'd Information from the Oracle, that the Possession of the *Pessimumian* Goddess would conduce to the effectual Establishment and Encrease thereof, they were resolv'd to demand

mand her Image of the *Phrygians*, and immediately dispatch'd Ambassadors with Instructions to that purpose, enforcing their Demand by Pretensions of Affinity, and a Descent from a Common Ancestor, viz. *Aeneas* of *Phrygia*. In short, the *Romans* easily obtain'd what they came for, and the Goddess embark'd for *Rome* : But when she arriv'd at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, which serv'd the *Romans* then in stead of a Harbour, the Vessel by Divine Appointment stood still, and the whole united Force of the *Romans* could not haul it from the Place, till a Vestal Priestess perform'd what the rest had attempted in vain. She had vow'd perpetual Chastity, and now was charg'd with a Violation of that Vow ; and fearing the Execution of the Law upon her, she offer'd to stand to the Award of the Goddess, whether or no she was guilty of the Fact whereof she stood accus'd ; which being accepted by the *Romans*, she took off her Girdle, and pray'd the Goddess, if she knew her to be a spotless Virgin, and

and that the Calumny she lay under was undeserv'd, she would command the Vessel to move; and immediately fastning her Girdle to it, she drew it after her with great ease; to the wonder and amazement of the Spectators, who look'd upon it as an unquestionable Testimony of the Divinity of the Goddess, and the Innocence of the Maid. Thus much I thought fit to insert about the *Pessinuntian Goddess*, with more Exactness and Accuracy perhaps than the Thing deserved: However I hope the Relation will not be unpleasant to those that are unacquainted with the *Roman Story*.

But to return to *Commodus*: After he had escap'd these traitorous Designs of *Maternus*, he augmented his Guards, grew shie, and seldom appear'd in Publick, liv'd for the most part in his Country-Houses which were most remote from the City, gave over the Exercise of all Imperial Jurisdiction, and laid down in a Manner the very Figure and Character of an Emperor.

At

At this Time all *Italy* was visited with a great Plague; but it raged the most in *Rome*, in regard it was a Town very populous of it self, and of a vast resort of Strangers from all Quarters; whereupon ensu'd a great Mortality of Men and Beasts. The Emperor by the Advice of his Physicians retir'd to *Laurentum*, where the Air was more cool and temperate, and the Groves of Laurel too frequent in those Parts, as is imported by the Name of the Place, which it took from thence, preserve the Country from Infection by the Fragrancy of their Smell, and the Delightfulness of their Shade. And upon the same Reason the People in the City, by the Prescription of their Doctors, fill'd their Noses and Ears with sweet Ointments, and always carried Perfumes about them; for they fancied these would close up the Pores by which the Infection was to enter, so that either it should not enter at all, or, if it did, it might be expell'd or vanquish'd by a contrary Force. But notwithstanding this, the Plague grew.

grew more outrageous, and Men and Beasts dy'd in great Numbers.

At the same Time the *Romans* were afflicted by an Evil of a different Nature, *viz.* a Famine and Dearth of all Things. The Occasion was this. There was a certain Man call'd *Cleander*, a *Phrygian*, and one that had been publickly sold by the Common Cryer. His first Advance was to be the Emperor's Slave; afterwards he became his Favourite; till at last he arriv'd to so great a Sway and Interest at Court, that he got to himself at once the honourable Charges of Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-chamber, Captain of his Life-Guard, and General of his Armies. And now his Wealth and Affluence of all Things put him upon projecting how he might gain the Empire. Hereupon he ingrossed prodigious Quantities of Corn, and lock'd them up in his Granary, that when the *Roman* Army and People should be reduc'd to Extremity for want of Sustenance, so seasonable and surprizing a Relief might win and endear them to him

him for ever. He built also a famous Place of Exercise, and maintain'd a Publick Bath at his own Charge, thinking by these Popular Arts to please and cajole the Multitude.

But they hated him upon an old Score, for his insatiable Covetousness; and now they look'd upon him as the Author of their late Calamities, which inflam'd them to that degree, that they openly in the Theatre vented their Spleen against him in Satirical Touches and Reflections upon his Behaviour, till at last the whole Mobb went to the Emperor's Palace with full Cry against him; nor could any thing appease their Clamours, besides the delivering up this Minister to them.

While the People were in this Ferment, and the Court was fill'd with Noise and Tumult, the Emperor lay in the inmost Rooms, dissolv'd in Pleasure, and, as Matters were manag'd by *Cleander*, utterly ignorant of the present Posture of Things: When upon a sudden, when no Man expected it, the Horse-

Horse-Guards issued out upon them by Cleander's Order, and bore down and trampled under Foot the defenceless Multitude; for being without Horses and unarm'd, they were unable to sustain the Impression, but betook themselves immediately to their Heels, and fled back to the City. Great Numbers were slain upon the Spot; not only such as fell by the Hands of the Soldiers, or were trod to death by the Horses, but a great many that were press'd to Death by the Crowd in the Hurry of the Action. They pursu'd them to the Gates of the City without Resistance, and made a very great Slaughter.

Those that were left in the City being advertiz'd of the Misfortune of their Friends, planted themselves upon the Tops of their Houses, and threw down Stones and Tiles upon the Horse-men, and in a Moment the Scales were turn'd; for here was no engaging near at Hand, but the whole Multitude securely and advantageously posted, made a Battery upon them from above, till at last being

cruelly

cruelly gall'd and wounded, they were forc'd to quit their Ground, and retire with Precipitation. A great many were struck down dead with Stones, that were plaid upon them continually with great Vigour, which afterwards rolling down into the Streets, extremely annoy'd the Horses, and frequently occasion'd the Overthrowing both of Horse and Man. There were also some Foot-Soldiers quarter'd in the Town, that out of a private Pique to the Horse-men, fell in with and reinforc'd the Mobb.

While all things were thus embroil'd by Civil Fury, *Commodus* was kept in ignorance of all that hapned; nor durst any Man acquaint him, for fear of Cleander; till *Fadilla*, his eldest Sister, who had free Acces to him upon all Occasions, ran to him in great haste, with her Hair dishevell'd, flung her self upon the Ground, and making indeed a very deplorable Figure, spoke to him in these Words, deliver'd with all the Concern and Passion imaginable.

FADILLA'S SPEECH.

My Lord, while you enjoy your Ease, and know nothing how Affairs are manag'd, your Sacred Person is brought into imminent Danger. We that are of your Blood and Family, are in danger of being extirpated and ruin'd, with the whole Roman People in general, and a great Part of the Army. What we could not expect from Barbarians, we suffer from your own Ministers. Those to whom you have been the greatest Friend, are become your most inveterate Enemies. Cleander endeaours to exasperate the Army and Populace against you, by the first of which he is belov'd and supported as much as he is hated and oppos'd by the other. They are both in Arms, combating with great Fury and Outrage, and filling the Streets of Rome with Blood and Slaughter. Whoever is vanquish'd, 'tis we and the Community must suffer, unless you instantly execute Justice on this wicked Minister, who has been the Cause of this Publick Disorder, and, if he be not prevented,

ed, will certainly occasion some notable Disaster to the Imperial Family.

After she had spoke, she rent her Clothes; and this Boldness of the Princess inspir'd others with Courage to come in and confirm what she had said: Which gave the Emperor such terrible Apprehensions, that he thought the Storm did not menace him from afar, but was that Moment breaking over his Head. So immediately he summons Cleander to appear before him, who knew nothing certainly of this Discovery beyond Conjecture and Suspicion; and after he was come, commanded him instantly to be seiz'd; and his Head struck off, was afterwards fix'd on a Spear, and expos'd to publick View, to the unspeakable Satisfaction of the People.

Thus this Storm was blown over, the Civil Fury was asswag'd, and all Sides laid down their Arms. The Soldiers saw their Leader slain, and began to apprehend the Emperor's Displeasure; for they perceiv'd now that he had been

abus'd in the whole Course of this Affair, and that *Cleander* had acted without his Authority or Commission. The clamors of the People were appeas'd, they sat down contentedly under their Miseries, after they had been reveng'd upon the Author of them. But *Cleander's* Calamity involv'd all his Dependents, and his two Sons; they were all butcher'd without Mercy, and their dead Bodies dragg'd about the City, after which Indignities they were thrown into the Common Sewers. This was the Period of *Cleander's* Greatness, and of all those that were supported by his Interest. And I am apt to believe, Nature design'd him for a remarkable Instance of the Mutability of our Condition, and has shew'd in him how Men may be lift up from the most abject State, to the very utmost Pitches of Humane Greatness, and how easily they may be tumbled down again from this Elevation, by a single Turn or Double of a capricious and inconstant Fortune.

And

And now *Commodus*, tho' he was violently afraid of an Insurrection of the People, yet he was prevail'd upon by his Friends to return to the City, where he was receiv'd by a great Appearance of People, and loud Acclamations of Joy, and then lodg'd himself in the Imperial Palace. But this Series of Dangers he had encounter'd, had this bad Effect, that it created in him a Jealousie and Distrust of all Men, which betray'd him to a merciless Disposition of Mind, and made him inclinable to hearken to all manner of Calumnies and Accusations, tho' never so false: He would not let any Man have the least Share in his Favour, that had the Reputation of Wisdom or Virtue. As for himself, he departed from every Thing that was Honourable and Good, suffer'd his Animal Nature to get the Ascendent over his Reason, which was sensibly impair'd by his immoderate indulging Sensual Pleasure. In conclusion, he banish'd all Men his Court, that had the Fame of being moderately Learned or Virtuous, under

the notion of being Plotters and Conspirators; suffer'd himself to be led and manag'd by a Set of Rascals and Buffoons; gave himself over to Chariot-driving, and Combating with Wild Beasts, which he pursu'd with greater Application than was suitable to his Dignity and Character; and from his Performances of this Kind it was, that his Flatterers ascrib'd to him the Reputation of Valour.

At this Time there were Prodigies discover'd in the Heavens, Stars appear'd in the Day-time, some of which of an oblong Figure, seem'd to hang in the Air. There were also a great many extravagant Births of various Sorts of Animals, contrary to the ordinary Measures of Nature. In some of these, the whole Frame and Structure of the Body was monstrous; in others, the Parts were strangely disproportionate. But what gave the greatest Wound for the present, and fill'd Men with the most dreadful Apprehensions for the future, was the Burning down of the Temple of

of Peace, being the most beautiful and stately Fabrick that was in the City. Before this dismal Accident, there had been no Rain and few Clouds, only the Earth was just perceiv'd to tremble; and whether it hapned by Lightning in the Night, or by Fire which might burst out in that extraordinary Movement of the Earth, is uncertain: But however it was, the richest Temple in the City was burnt to the Ground, with all the Ornaments of Gold and Silver with which it was beautified, far beyond any of the rest; for it was look'd upon as a very secure Place, and was at that time the universal Repository for Things of Value; so that by this Nights Calamity several rich Men were reduc'd to extreme Poverty, and all Men lamented the Publick Loss, and each Man his own Particular.

Besides this Temple, a great many other graceful and magnificent Buildings perish'd in the Conflagration: Amongst these was the Temple of *Vesta*, insomuch that the Image of *Pallas* was

laid open to publick View. To this the *Romans* pay a singular Veneration, and secret it from the Eyes of the People. The Tradition is, That it came originally from *Troy*, and this was the first Time it was seen in publick since it was brought into *Italy*; for no sooner was it arriv'd, but the Vestal Virgins convey'd it privately along the Sacred Way, and lodg'd it in the Imperial Palace. A great many other beautiful and well-built Parts of the Town were laid in Ashes: Nor could the Fury of the merciless Element be check'd, till it was done by a Shower from Heaven. And now the whole Business was imputed to a Superintending Providence, and the People were generally perswaded that the Fire began and ended by Divine Appointment; and it was a common Remark, That this Burning the Temple of Peace portended Wars to ensue. Nor was the Observation vain, as appear'd by what hapned afterwards, as shall be related in order.

This

This Series of Disasters and Misfortunes coming one upon the Neck of another, extremely abated the Affection of the People to *Commodus*, to whose Cruelty and enormous Way of Living they imputed all the Miseries they had labour'd under; for they knew of all his Irregularities, nor did he endeavour to conceal them; but what he was censor'd for acting in Private, he boldly own'd and avow'd in Publick; and at last arriv'd to that Degree of Madness and Folly, that he grew ashamed of his own Name, and instead of *Commodus* the Son of *Marcus*, commanded the People to call him *Hercules* the Son of *Jupiter*. He laid aside too the Garb and Ensigns of *Roman* Majesty, wrapt himself in a Lions Skin, carry'd a Club in his Hand, and, what was most ridiculous, put on withall Purple Robes flowr'd with Gold, insomuch that he became the Subject of the Publick Scorn and Derision, having attempted to join in the same Habit the Softness of a Woman, and the Manly Roughness of a Heroe.

In this Equipage he appear'd every Day ; and now with a peculiar Strain of Vanity he chang'd the Names of the Months, calling them after his own Sur-names, most of which referr'd to *Hercules*, as being a *Heroe* of the most celebrated Valour. He likewise commanded his Statues to be erected in all the Parts of the City ; particularly, one was set up over against the Senate ; the Posture was drawing a Bow ; for he affected that even the Air of his Statues should carry something of Terror and Menace in it. This Statue was taken down after his Death, by Order of the Senate, and the Vacancy supply'd by another of *Liberty*.

And now *Commodus* could not master his Vanity any longer ; so he caus'd Proclamation to be made, that he would entertain the People with a Publick Shew, wherein he would encounter the Wild Beasts in Person, and kill them with his own Hands ; adding Defiances and Challenges to the *Roman* Youth, and declaring that he would fight with

any

any that durst appear in Single Combat.

The Fame of this Entertainment drew a vast Resort of People out of *Italy* and the adjacent Countries, all Men being eager to see what they had not so much as heard of before : For 'twas reported that *Commodus* levell'd a Dart with that Dexterity and Address, that he seldom fail'd of hitting his Mark. He had *Parthians* with him on purpose to instruct him in the Mystery of Arching, and *Numidians* to teach him how to throw the Javelin ; and he had made such prodigious Improvement, that he surpass'd them both in their respective Arts.

And now the Day was come for the Grand Entertainment, the Theater was extremely crowded, and a Terrass was built for *Commodus* round the Place where the Beasts were to be shewn, from whence, without any Hazard to his Person, he might dart upon them, to the infinitely greater Proof of his Skill than his Courage. As for Bucks and Does, and other Horned Beasts, except Bulls,

he

he gave them Chace himself, and with the fatal Shaft o'ertook and slew them in their Flight; but Lions and Panthers, with the more generous sort of Salvages, he shot from the Terras; and so great a Master was he of this Diversion, that every Dart gave Wounds, and every Wound was mortal; for as soon as the Beast was rous'd, and had put himself in posture to insult him, he immediately struck him in the Heart or Head, which were the only Parts he aim'd at, so that the Beast infallibly dy'd. And now we had an Opportunity of seeing what before we had only admir'd in Picture; for whatever Beast of portentous Size or Form, the South or the North, *India* or *Aethiopia*, could furnish, was shewn and slain in Publick by the Emperor upon this Occasion; all the Spectators being in perfect Amazement and Admiration of his matchless Skill. Sometimes he would take a Dart the Point whereof was fashion'd in the Shape of a Half-Moon; with this he would strike a *Moresco Estridge*, a Creature

ture that by its Swiftnes of Foot, and Wings that serve it in stead of Sails, runs at a most prodigious rate, and would take off its Head with that force, that the Bird would continue its Career a considerable time after. And when a Panther with incredible Swiftnes had seiz'd a Man within the Lists, and was about to tear him in pieces, the Emperor came in seasonably to his Rescue with an Arrow, that struck the Beast dead, and sav'd the Man from the Jaws of Death. He also kill'd a hundred Lions with the like Number of Arrows, their Dead Bodies fell in such regular Order, that any Person might number them with ease; nor was any single Shaft found that had not done its design'd Execution.

These Things, tho' they were unbecoming the Majesty of an Emperor, yet because they had in them some Shadow and Resemblance of Skill and Bravery, were not unpleasing to the Populace: But when he came naked into the Theater, and took upon him the Figure of

a Common Gladiator, this was an ungrateful Spectacle : For how must it wound the Eyes of every true *Roman*, to see so Illustrious and High-born a Prince, and Emperor of *Rome*, after so many Triumphs of his Father and Ancestors, not making War upon the Barbarous Nations, nor doing any thing worthy of that Empire of which he was the Head, but debasing his Imperial Dignity, by taking upon him a Habit so notoriously scandalous and infamous ? Notwithstanding this, *Commodus* went on with his Fencing, and easily baffl'd all those that enter'd the Lists with him : But he did not proceed beyond Wounds, all the Combatants submitting to him, and confessing the Power of a Weapon in the Hand of a Prince, how mean soever his Skill was in using it. And now he was so entirely given over to this extravagant Humour, or rather Madness, that he design'd to abandon his Imperial Palace, and to take his Apartment in the Fencing-School. He thought likewise to lay down his Name of *Her-*
cules,

cules, and to take up that of a certain Gladiator of famous Memory. He also took away the Head of the *Colossus*, or the Statue of the *Sun*, for which the *Romans* have a peculiar Veneration, and set up his own in the Room ; and, rejecting the ordinary Style of *Roman* Emperors, inscrib'd upon the Basis, *The Vanquisher of a thousand Gladiators* ; preferring this vain Character to all the Titles deriv'd to him from his Ancestors.

But now it was time a Stop should be put to the Follies and Madness of the Emperor, and that *Rome* should be freed from his Tyranny. It was the New Year, the First Day of the Year, at which Time the *Romans* celebrate a Festival to *Janus*, the ancientest of the *Italian* Gods. This *Janus* is reported to have entertain'd *Saturn* when he was forc'd out of his Kingdom, and liv'd here *incognito*, for fear of the prevailing Power of his Son *Jupiter* : And from hence the Country was call'd *Latium*, from a Word of Greek extraction, since become *Latin* ; and for this Reason the *Romans*

Romans to this Day celebrate the *Saturnalia* to the *Absconding God*, immediately after the Feast of the New Year, according to the ancient Usage of *Italy*: The Image of this *Janus* has two Faces, because in him the Old Year ends, and the New one begins. During this Festival, Friends visit and entertain one another in an extraordinary manner; Presents are sent, and Invitations pass amongst Neighbours; and, in short, an Humour of Generosity, Hospitality, and Freedom reigns all over the City: And at this Time it is the Principal Magistrates appear the first time in their Formalities. In the height of this Solemnity *Commodus* design'd to begin his Procession, not from the Imperial Palace, (as the Custom was) but from the Fencing-School; not in the Imperial Robes, but in the Habit and Equipage of a Fencing-Master, with a Train of Gladiators at his Heels; and thus attended, he design'd to make his Appearance in Publick.

This Resolution he communicated to *Marcia*, one of his Concubines of the

first

first Rate; for he lov'd her far above all the rest, and paid her all the Regard and Deference that is due to a Wife, allowing her all the Honours of an Empress, except that of having Fire carry'd before her in State. She presently perceiv'd how ridiculous and extravagant his Intention was in all the Circumstances of it, and essay'd all the Ways imaginable to divert him from it, flung her self at his Feet, and besought him with Tears, that he would not entrust his Person with such a Set of desperate Bravo's, nor do a Thing so highly inconsistent with the Dignity of the *Roman Empire*. But when she found he was inflexible, and all her Pray'r's signified nothing, she departed with Tears in her Eyes.

After that he call'd to him *Lætus* the Captain of his Life-Guard, and *Electus* the Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and commanded them to furnish up an Apartment for him in the Fencing-School, imparting to them his Intention of Marching from thence the next Morning,

Morning, to perform the Sacrifices customary upon this Occasion, and of appearing before the People in Armour; at which they were infinitely surpriz'd, and besought, and us'd their utmost Endeavours to dissuade him from doing a Thing so unworthy of his high Station and Character.

But this only serv'd to incense him: Whereupon in great Rage he commanded them to withdraw, and retir'd into his Bed-Chamber, as if he had design'd to repose himself, (as his Custom was about Noon) and there took his Table-book, and wrote down the Names of those he had doom'd and mark'd out that Night for Destruction: The first of which was *Marcia*, and after her *Lætus* and *Electus*, with a great many other eminent Personages of the Senate: For he design'd to remove all his Father's Friends, and especially those that were venerable for their Age and Gravity, lest their Presence might give him some Check in those infamous Liberties which he resolv'd to abandon himself

to.

to. Their Riches and Effects he intended to distribute amongst the Soldiers and Gladiators, that the first might protect, whilst the latter did divert him. This Table-book, after he had wrote what he intended, he laid down upon his Pallet, not imagining that any Person would enter his Chamber. Now there was about the Court one of that sort of Boys that go naked, and are trick'd up with Gold and Jewels, being kept by Persons of Quality in *Rome* for their Diversion. This Boy was a Favourite of the Emperor's, who doted upon him to that degree, that he frequently took him to Bed with him, and call'd him *Philo-Commodus*, the very Name expressing his peculiar Fondness of him. This Boy, when *Commodus* was Bathing, or engag'd at his Revels, being at Play, ran into the Emperor's Chamber, as he us'd to do, and taking up the Table-book, began to play with that, and running out of the Chamber again with the Book in his Hand, accidentally encounter'd *Marcia*, who had also a Kindness

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ness for the Lad ; and now she took him in her Arms, and kiss'd and caref'd him, but took the Book away from him, for fear he should lose or deface something that contain'd Matters of moment. She knew the Hand very well, and her Curiosity tempted her to look what was wrote in it : But when she found how fatal it was to her self, that she was to be the first Victime, and that *Lætus* and *Electus* were to follow, and that there was a great Massacre to be of other Men, she broke out into this Expostulation : *Ab Commodus ! are these then the Returns you make me for my Kindness and Passion ! Have I deserv'd this at your Hands ! Have I for this born your drunken Frolicks, and all the Affronts and Indignities you have been pleas'd to put upon me for these many Years ? And must till this be tamely suffer'd ? No, his Designs shall turn upon himself, and he shall find how unequal a Match a drunken Sot is for a sober designing Woman.* After this Menace, she sent for *Electus*, with whom she had the Opportunity of frequent Conversations,

as

as being Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and was indeed suspected of Familiarities with him which were not very Honourable. When he was come, she gave him the Book, and bid him look after what manner they were like to celebrate this Festival. *Electus*, after he had read it, was perfectly astonish'd : (He was by Nation an *Ægyptian*, naturally bold, and of a fiery Disposition.) He sent the Book seal'd up immediately to *Lætus*, by the Hands of a Servant in whom he could repose a more than ordinary Confidence. The Adventure gave the same Disturbance to *Lætus*, it had done to the rest ; whereupon he came over to *Marcia*, under pretence of adjusting by her Advice the Furniture of the Emperor's Apartment in the Fencing School. Under this Colour they held their Consult, wherein it was resolved, That this was no Time for Delays ; that they must instantly attempt something, or perish in the Storm that threaten'd them.

After Debate about the Ways and Means, they resolv'd to poison *Commodus*. This *Marcia* undertook to do with a great deal of Ease, because all his Liquors were mix'd and given to him by her Hand; for he drank any Thing with a peculiar Relish that was prepar'd by that dear Creature. Pursuant to the Resolutions taken, when he return'd from the Bath, *Marcia* offer'd him Poison mix'd with Wine of a most excellent Flavour, which he drank without suspecting any thing; for he had made himself extreme thirsty by the Diversions of Bathing and Hunting. After the fatal Draught, he was seiz'd with a sudden Drowsiness, which threw him into a Slumber, and from thence into a Sleep. This People attributed only to the Fatigue of the Day. Hereupon *Marcia* and *Electus* commanded all the Company to repair to their respective Lodgings, for fear of disturbing him. And les notice was taken of this Busines, because he us'd to have these Sleeping Fits, which at other Times were the Effect

fect of some inordinate Debauch; for he divided his Time so between Bathing and Banqueting, that he had set none apart for his Rest, but was still running on in a Circle of Pleasures, to which he was become so absolute a Slave, that he often pursu'd them even against his Inclination. But after a short Repose, when the Poison began to work upon his Stomach, he was suddenly seiz'd with a Dizziness, and after that, vomited most excessively. What the Reason was, is uncertain; whether he had gorg'd himself with Meat before-hand, or the Wine, which he had drunk plentifully, combated with, and expell'd the Malignity of the Poison; or whether he had taken something, as Princes usually do, by way of Antidote against it.

However it was, when they saw him disgorge at this rate, fearing lest he should cast up all the Poison, and recover, and consequently put them all to Death, they perswaded *Narcissus*, a young *Desperado*, to strangle him in his Chamber;

ber ; which he did, whilst he lay in that Condition, languishing under the Malady which his late Debauch, and the Poison he had taken, had cast him into. Thus dy'd *Commodus*, after he had reign'd Three Years from his Father's Death. He was the Noblest Prince, and goodliest Person of his Age ; and if we may admit Valour to consist in Skill in Shooting, or Levelling at a Mark, no Man was more eminently possess'd of that Virtue ; but the whole Tenor of his Life was made up of base Actions, and dishonourable Practices, as is before related.

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 E P I T O M E
 O F T H E
 Second Book.

Commodus being slain, it is given out that he died of an Apoplexy, and Pertinax is elected Emperor, as being the most worthy of that Honour. He declines it, but is prevail'd upon at last by the Instances of the People, and accepts it. The Soldiery, Senate, and People of Rome proclaim him Emperor. He makes a Speech, sacrifices, and then goes to his Palace. In his Government he has a strict Regard to Equity and Justice, for which Reason he is extremely lov'd by the People, both in Rome and the Provinces, and no less formidable to his Enemies : But to the Soldiers he is insupportable, because

because they are restrain'd from Rapine and Injury. So they form a Conspiracy against him, and kill him, and then shut themselves up in the Camp, and make Proclamation that the Empire is to be sold by Auction. Julian was the Purchaser, and administer'd it as shamefully as he got it. Whereupon Niger, Prefect of Syria, is chosen, and holds his Court in Antioch: But being not so active as his Affairs requir'd, Severus seizes the Empire, under colour of Revenging Pertinax's Death, and is proclaim'd Emperor in Pannonia, from whence he marches directly to Rome, where, upon his Arrival, the Senate confirm his Election, and order Julian to be put to Death, who is executed accordingly by a Tribune appointed for that purpose. Severus cashier's all the Soldiers concern'd in the Assassination of Pertinax: And having made Albinus, Prefect of Britain, his Colleague in the Empire, advances against Niger with a mighty Army.

The Second Book.

Commodus being slain, as we have related in the former Book, the Conspirators had a mind to keep this Matter from taking Air; and for a Blind to the Guards that were then upon Duty about the Court, they wrapp'd up his Body in a coarse Blanket, and gave it to two Servants of known Fidelity, to carry it out of the Palace, as if it had been some unnecessary Furniture, that only cumber'd the Chamber. They did so, and pass'd the Guards without Difficulty, some of which were drunk, others so sleepy they were scarce able to hold their Halberts, and the rest were not at all inquisitive about a Matter which they thought did not concern them. So the Emperor's Body was convey'd away privately, and carry'd that Night by Coach to *Aristeum*.

And now *Letus*, *Electus*, and *Marcia* were in deep Consult about what was to

to be done in this critical Conjuncture. At last they fell upon this Resolution, That it should be given out, that he dy'd suddenly of an *Apoplexy*; for they thought this Report would easily gain Credit, because of the Notoriety of his luxurious and irregular Way of Living. The next Point that came under Debate, was about a Successor; and they resolv'd to chuse some grave old Man, that had a competent Degree of Prudence and Experience to recommend him, under whose Government not only they might live securely, but all Men might enjoy Repose and Quiet, which they had been so long depriv'd of, by a Tyrannical Administration; and after long Deliberation about a Person, none was found so fit a Man, or so worthy of the Empire, as *Pertinax*.

This *Pertinax* was by Nation an *Italian*, much renown'd for his successful Atchievements in Time of War, and his prudent Ministry in Time of Peace. He had signaliz'd himself in his Expeditions against the *Germani*, and the Ea-

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stern Nations, over whom he had obtain'd great Victories; and he was the only Person surviving of those grave and wise Men whom *Marcus* honour'd with his Friendship and Confidence. The Reason why he was spar'd, is uncertain: Whether *Commodus* rever'd him for the Dignity and Gravity of his Deportment, or he had no Regards of Interest to move him to cut him off: For this also is part of his Panegyrick, that though he had run through the greatest Charges and Employments of any, yet he had made the smallest Improvement of his own Fortune.

To him *Letus* and *Electus*, with some others of the Conspirators, came at Midnight, when all Men were asleep; and finding his Gates lock'd, awaken'd the Porter, who, as soon as he descry'd the Soldiers, and *Letus*, Captain of the Guard, among them, in great consternation he runs back to acquaint his Master. *Pertinax* commanded him to conduct them to him, without any greater Emotion than the saying, *That now what be*

he had so long expected, was come to pass. And he maintain'd all the Time such a Sedateness and Constancy of Mind, that he did not so much as move himself from the Bed, or alter the Air of his Face. And when *Lætus* and *Electus* made their Approach, tho' he concluded they came to kill him, yet he never chang'd Colour, but spoke to them with a becoming Boldness and Gravity of Countenance. I've expected, says he, a long time that this Period should be put to my Days, being the only Person remaining of the Friends of the deceas'd Emperor; and I must confess, I have wonder'd why *Commodus* has suspended the Blow so long. And as for you, Gentlemen, what do you stay of? Why don't you execute your Warrant, and dispatch me out of this wretched State of Anxiety and Misery? *Lætus* reply'd, Pray, Sir, forbear speaking Things so unworthy your Character, and the former Course of your Life. We come not hither to be your Executioners, but to compleat the Preservation and Deliverance of us, your self, and the Roman People, from Tyranny.

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and Slavery. The Tyrant is slain, and has receiv'd the Chastisement due to his Extravagance and Folly. We have prevented him, and he has suffer'd that from our Hands, which he design'd we should undergo by his. And now we come to offer the Empire to you, the Leading Man in the Senate, as well in regard of your Authority and Age, as of the constant Moderation and Sobriety of your Manners. We know also, that none maintains so great a Share as you in the Vogue and Affections of the People, and for that Reason assure our selves, that by this Action of ours we shall not only provide for our own Safety, but merit Esteem and Applause from every true Roman.

Pertinax answer'd, Pray, Gentlemen, don't banter an old Man at this rate: I am not sunk into such Meanness and Abjectness of Spirit, as that you should thus abuse me before you kill me. Nay then, said *Electus*, if you won't take our Word, pray read this Book, (you know and have been accustom'd to the Emperor's Hand) and you'll perceive how great a Danger we have escap'd, and that what we say now, is not to ensnare, but to

to inform you of the true State of Things. And now Pertinax began to overcome his Incredulity, and to believe what they said ; and understanding the whole Matter, told them, *he was intirely at their Disposal, and would pursue such Measures as they should direct.* And they thought it the most advisable in the first place to go to the Army, and sound the Inclinations of the Soldiers ; tho' *Lætus* assur'd them, he could influence them to do what he pleas'd, in regard he was their Commander, and upon that Score might pretend to a more than ordinary Authority over them. So they all went immediately to the Army.

And now the Night was far spent, and the Day for the Celebration of the Festival approach'd : But all Things were adjusted before Morning, and certain Men were order'd to spread abroad the Report, that *Commodus* was dead, and that *Pertinax* was to succeed him, and was gone to the Army, in order to his Election.

After

After this News was publickly known, the People were visibly transported into strange Emotions and Ecstasies. A great many ran about the Streets, and handed to their Friends the welcome Tydings, especially to those of the most considerable Fortune or Quality ; for they had the greatest Reason to rejoice upon this Occasion, as being deliver'd from the most imminent Danger. Then they ran to the Temples and Altars, to render Thanks to the Immortal Gods for this signal Deliverance ; some crying aloud, *The Gladiator, others, The Tyrant is dead.* And some there were that broke out into far more bitter Reproaches ; all which, during the late Tyranny, were stifled, none daring even to whisper those Things, which now they proclaim'd with great freedom and liberty. After this, great Numbers of the People went in a tumultuary manner to the Army, for fear the Soldiers should oppose the Promotion of *Pertinax* ; for he was a Man famous for Temper and Moderation, and therefore they fansied might

might not be very agreeable to the Soldiers, who had minister'd to the Lusts of Tyrants, and under their Shelter and Countenance had committed the greatest Violences and Rapines. The purpose therefore of their coming, was to force them to a Compliance, in case they should endeavour any Opposition. After they were assembled in the Camp, *Lætus* and *Electus* introduc'd *Pertinax*, and presented him to them ; and having call'd the Soldiers together, *Lætus* made this Harangue.

Lætus his SPEECH.

I Am to acquaint you, Gentlemen, That Commodus your Emperor is dead of an Apoplexy, occasion'd by his own Intemperance ; for he despis'd the wholesom and sober Advices which we gave him, and living on at the Rate which you very well know, was at last perfectly choak'd up with excessive Eating. This is, Gentlemen, the Account of his Death. Indeed every Man has not the same Fate ; the Causes of Death are various

various almost as the Casualties of Life ; and tho' we must all die, yet we tread different Paths to that Common End. In his Room, we and the Roman People propose to you a Man that has the Recommendations of Age, Sobriety, great Military Experience. As to the last of these, I dare appeal to the Testimony of all those that have been any considerable Time in the Army, and assure myself, they can't but speak honourably of his Conduct in all his Expeditions. Nor have the rest of you less admir'd his Prudence and Moderation in the whole Course of his Ministry at home, tho' he govern'd the Affairs of the City, in the Capacity of Praefect, divers Years ; and now, by the Bounty of Heaven, he's offer'd not to be only a Prince, but a Common Father to you all. Besides, this Election will afford Matter of great Joy and Contentment, not only to you that are here assembled, but to our Army also that lies encamp'd upon the Ister, bravely guarding the Frontiers of our Empire, which can't upon this Occasion but make a comfortable Reflexion upon those many great and glorious Exploits of his to which themselves have been
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Witnesses.

Witnesses. We shall need no longer dishonourably to purchase a precarious Peace with the Barbarous Nations ; the Memory of his victorious Expeditions against them, will awe them into Subjection ; and the Experience of his Bravery in Times past, will restrain them from provoking it for the future.

After *Lætus* had spoke, the People impatient of Delay, whilst the Soldiers were debating and demurring upon the Proposal, without waiting the Result, proclaim'd him Emperor, and Father of his Country, with loud Acclamations of Joy. The Soldiers did the same, but not with the same Chearfulness and Afection, but rather as if they had been constrain'd to it by an over-powering Multitude (surrounding them on every Side) and had comply'd with a Thing which was impossible to oppose ; for, in regard it was a Festival, they were without their Arms. However, they took the Oaths of Allegiance to him, and sacrific'd to the Gods ; after which, the whole Army and People, carrying Branches of Laurel

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accompanied him to the Imperial Palace with great Solemnity.

And here his Cares and Fears gave him great Uneasiness ; for tho' he had always discover'd great Constancy and Presence of Mind in all Emergencies, yet now he was extremely shok'd upon duly weighing the present Condition of Affairs : Not on the Account of any Personal Dangers which he might apprehend to himself ; for he had contemn'd far greater at other times, than he had now any Reason to fear. But he consider'd the sudden Change of Tyrannical Government ; that his Promotion might occasion great Resentments in some of the Nobility, who would not brook, that a Man so meanly born, shou'd succeed a Prince so nobly descended as *Commodus* : For tho' he was much celebrated for his Moderation and Civil Prudence, and had gain'd also great Renown by his Military Atchievements, yet a great many excell'd him in the Nobility of their Lineage. Therefore in the Morning he went to the Senate, but

would not suffer Fire, nor any Ensign of Imperial Dignity to be carried before him, till the Senate had declar'd themselves in the Point of his Election.

After he had enter'd the Senate, by the unanimous Suffrage of the House he was declar'd Emperor; but he declin'd the Honour, saying, it would draw too great a Weight of Envy upon him; and earnestly entreated to be excus'd, alledging his Inability for so great a Charge, upon the Account of his Age; and that there were a great many of the Senators far more worthy of so great and honourable a Trust; and taking out *Glabrio*, would have plac'd him on the Imperial Throne. He was the most nobly descended of all the Senators, deducing his Pedigree from *Aeneas*, the Son of *Venus* and *Archises*, and had been twice Consul. But he excus'd himself very handsomly, and told him, Since he was pleas'd to single him out as the most worthy of the Empire, he did freely resign all his Title and Interest to him; and with the concurring Voices of the whole

Senate,

Senate, declar'd him Emperor: After which Pertinax, being unable to resist the violent and pressing Instances of all Men, with a kind of Reluctancy ascend'd the Imperial Throne, and deliver'd himself in the following Words.

PERTINAX his SPEECH.

Gentlemen, this signal Honour which you do me, and that extraordinary Zeal and Affection which you discover on this Occasion, by preferring me to so many Noble Peers, does not only exclude all Suspicion of Flattery, but is a strong Argument of your Good-will and sincere Intentions. Such Assurances of your Favour would encourage another Man chearfully to accept so great and gracious an Offer, and make him conceive Hopes of an easie and a happy Reign, where he should meet with such good Dispositions in the Subject. But these Things have a contrary Effect upon me, and rather administer Matter of Wonder and Amazement, and fill me with a Fear and Diffidence, when I consider the Difficulty of making a Return

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suitable to so great a Merit. For in the Intercourse of Good Offices, if the Requital be greater than the Benefit, it is not so much valu'd for that, as for the Intention with which it is made. But in the Case of a prior Obligation, if the Return be not proportionate to the Benefit receiv'd, we presently fall under the Censure and Imputation of Ingratitude, and shall be rather thought insensible of the Kindness, than unable to requite it. And now I see what almost insuperable Difficulties I am to encounter, to make my future Behaviour worthy of the present Honour you have done me: For it is not Dignity of Place, but of Manners, that gives a true Preheminence; and the more Men detest the Vices of the past Age, the more they wish for a Reformation of this. For Injuries make a lasting Impression; but the very Ideas of Benefits receiv'd, are soon lost and defac'd. Nor are Men so sensible of the Enjoyment of Liberty, as of the Want of it: For where's the Obligation, say they, if we have the free Use of what is our own? 'Tis only our Right. And few will be found that will make any Acknowledgments upon that Score:

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But if their Properties come to be invaded, and their Goods are taken away by Force, this they can never forget. Another Thing is, few Private Persons have a due Regard for the Publick Good, or think their own Interest involv'd in that of the Community: But if they be aggriev'd in their own Particular, they presently exclaim against the Government, and think they're hardly dealt with. On the other hand, those that have been supported by the profuse Largeesses of Tyrants, if you consider the general want of Money, and thereupon retrench the Publick Expences, won't commend your Prudence or Frugality in this Regulation; but will presently accuse you of a sordid Meanness and Narrowness of Spirit; never considering, that those extravagant Donatives can't be furnish'd without Extortion and Oppression of the Subject: Whereas he that proportions his Rewards to the Merit of the Persons, is not only not injurious in this Particular, but reads a Lecture of Frugality to the People. Think therefore, Gentlemen, of these Things, and assist me in the Administration wherein your selves are to have a Share; let us be as united in

in our Endeavours, as we are in our Interests ; and seeing you are not to live under Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, but under the Freedom of an Oligarchy, you may not only hope for Happiness your selves, but may also give Assurances of it to others.

This Declaration of *Pertinax* highly satisfied the Senate, after which he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations of Joy, and the greatest Marks of Honour and Respect ; and having visited the Temples of *Jupiter* and the other Gods, and sacrific'd according to the Custom, he retir'd to the Imperial Palace. After this Speech was made Publick, and the People had read a Declaration of his that was directed to them, they discover'd great Signs of a general Contentment and Satisfaction ; for all Men were of Opinion that he would make a Prudent and a Gentle Prince, and a Father rather than an Emperor : For he had already commanded the Soldiers, under severe Penalties, not to offer any Rudeness to the People, nor to affront any Person

Person that pass'd by ; and design'd to reform the whole Discipline, and restore all Things to their ancient Course and Order.

Whenever he appear'd abroad, or sat in the Courts of Judicature, he still discover'd a Spirit of Mildness, Humanity, and Good-nature. And now the Government began to be influenc'd by the same gentle Principles that were observ'd by *Marcus*, whose Princely Virtues he emulated in all Things ; which gave him the general Esteem and Approbation of all the old Men that remembred *Marcus* : Nor was he less dear to the rest, whom he easily won to him by that happy Change which he had introduc'd in the Government, wherein every Subject might enjoy Security and Repose, in stead of the Fears and Molestationes they were liable to under the late Tyranny. The Fame of these Things being carried to distant Nations, excited the People as well as the Soldiery, and not only our own, but those of our Allies, to decree him Divine Honours.

And

And the *Barbarians*, some of which were actually revolted, and others upon the point of running into the same Disorders, were reduc'd to Terms of Obedience and Submission, partly by the Fear of his Bravery, whereof they had had Experience in the late Wars, and partly by the Fame of his Clemency, Honour, and Justice, from which he was never known to have departed.

Ambassadors were also dispatch'd from all Parts to congratulate the Happiness of the *Romans* in so incomparable an Emperor. But this gentle and well-order'd Government, which gave such general Satisfaction to the People, as they express'd both in Publick and Private, bred a great deal of ill Blood among the Soldiers that quarter'd in *Rome*, and guarded the Emperor's Person: For being restrain'd from Rapine and Injury, and bound to their Good Behaviour, and the Rules of strict Discipline, they thought these Measures of gentle and regular Government reflect-ed a kind of Reproach and Disgrace upon

upon them, and were a manifest Encroachment upon their Privileges; and at last resolv'd, they were insupportable, and not to be suffer'd. So at first they grew by degrees insolent and mutinous, and would not render that Obedience to the Commands of their Superiors which was expected from them; and before Two Months of his Reign were compleated, after the Dawn of a Prudent Government had display'd it self in several discreet and wise Regulations which he made, and after the Hopes and Expectations of all Men were rais'd to the utmost height, by one Stroke of a cruel invidious Fortune, all was dash'd and overthrown; and all those admirable Designs which he had form'd, which would have been of so universal Advantage to the Publick, were defeated before they were ripe for Execution.

In the first place, he took care that all the Desarts and Waste Grounds in *Italy*, and the Provinces, should be cul-tivated and improv'd: In order to this, he gave all these Lands (without excep-tion

tion even of such as belong'd to the Crown) to the Occupiers, to every one so much as he should manure and cultivate, vesting the Property of the Soil in him that was at the Charge of the Improvement. And by way of Encouragement, he granted them an Immunity from all Taxes for Ten Years, and freed them as long as they remain'd Proprietors from all Molestationes and Avo-cations whatsoever. Those Grounds that were Crown-Lands, he would not suffer to be call'd so, in regard they were nor (as he said) the Private Possessions of the Crown, but belong'd to the Collective Body of the *Roman* People. He remitted all Tolls and Imposts laid upon Banks of Rivers, Harbours, and Publick Ways, to raise Funds to support the Extravagances of Tyrants, and restor'd them to their ancient Freedom; and had he liv'd longer, would have done a great many other Things of the same Nature and Quality.

He banish'd all Common Informers from *Rome*, commanding them to depart the

the City under severe Penalties, that no Man might be in danger of false Accusations. And now the Senators, and indeed all Orders and Degrees of Men, propos'd to themselves Great Happiness and Satisfaction under the Government of a Prince that did not set himself proudly above his Subjects, and yet was so sollicitous for their Welfare; for so exemplary was the Humility and Modesty of *Pertinax*, even in his highest Exaltation, that he wou'd never suffer his Son to approach the Imperial Palace, but order'd him to remain at his Private House, from whence he repair'd, as he us'd to do, to the Schools and Places of Exercise, in the Quality of a Private Person, conforming in all Points to the ordinary Rules and Discipline, and was in all Respects and Circumstances as the Children of Private Men, without the least Appearance of the State and Grandeur of a Prince.

Whilst all Men admir'd the wise and sober Conduct of *Pertinax*, the *Prætorian* Soldiers were so much dissatisfied with

with the present Posture of Affairs, that they began to wish for a Revolution, and that the same Tyranny might take place, under which they had committed what Spoil and Violence they pleas'd, without Controul: And in the height of a Debauch they concerted to take *Pertinax* out of the Way, as being a great Check and Curb to them, and to set up one in his stead, that would restore them to, and maintain them in those scandalous Privileges and Liberties which they usurp'd during the late Reign: And accordingly, when all Things were in a profound Calm, they came down suddenly to the Palace-Gates at High-Noon, breathing Fury and Revenge, in a very tumultuous Manner, with their Spears mounted, and their Swords drawn, as if they would have insulted the Imperial Palace. This sudden Uproar put those that were of the Emperor's Household in great Consternation; but being few, and without Arms, they durst not make Head against so numerous and well-appointed Troops, but deserted

deserted every Man his Post, and made the best of their Way out of the Palace, some one Way, and some another. Indeed those that had a more than ordinary Affection for the Emperor, gave him notice of this Outrage of the Soldiers, and advis'd him withal to consult his own Safety, by forsaking the Palace, and demanding the Assistance of the People. He thought these Advices pertinent enough in the present Exigent; however, he look'd upon it as dishonourable, and unworthy his former Life, and the Majesty of a *Roman* Emperor, to fly or step behind the Screen at the approach of Danger, and immediately resolv'd to oppose himself to their Fury, hoping that if he went out and spoke to them, he might allay their present Heats, and prevent any further Consequence of so unnatural a Rage. Whereupon he left the Palace, and boldly walk'd out, and demanded of them the Reason of this Concourse, endeavouring to reclaim them to their Duty and Allegiance. And this he did with all the Unconcern imaginable,

ginable, composing his Countenance to a grave and Majestick Air, without uttering any Thing that was mean, or in the Strain of a timerous obnoxious Person, he spoke to them as follows.

PERTINAX his SPEECH.

Gentlemen, tho' you take away my Life, yet neither will you be any great Gainers, nor shall I be any considerable Loser, having liv'd to this Age, and arriv'd to these Honours: For there is a necessary Term and Period of Humane Life. But for you, who are appointed to guard and protect your Prince against the Attacks of others, to fall upon him your selves, to murther your own Charge, and stain your Hands not only with the Blood of a Fellow-Citizen, but your Leige-Lord, will not only be a Crime of a very heinous Nature for the present, but may also prove very fatal to you in its Consequences. And as for my part, I am not conscious that I have done you any Injury. If you lay to Heart Commodus's Death,

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it is no strange Thing that a Man should die; and if you suspect any Thing of Violence in his Death, I can plead Not Guilty to any Arraignment for that Fact; and you your selves know, I was not so much as suspected to have had any Hand in it, being as utterly ignorant of what was done then, as you were. If you therefore think that there was Treason in that Affair, you must transfer the Charge upon some other Person. However, Gentlemen, tho' Commodus is dead, you may satisfie your selves, that you shall want nothing that is reasonable or convenient, if you don't seek it by Violence and Rapine.

This gentle Rebuke, together with his August Presence and Age, which exacted a kind of Reverence from his Hearers, had its desir'd Effect upon some who began to relent, and draw off in great Numbers, whilst others more remorseless assaulted him in the middle of his Harangue, and kill'd him. After the commission of this horrid Treason, fearing the Resentments of the People,

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which they knew would be very high upon this Occasion, they resolv'd to withdraw themselves from their Fury, and retir'd in great haste to the Camp, and kept themselves within the Walls, disposing Soldiers upon the Ramparts, to repulse the Mobb, if they should make any Attack upon the Wall. Thus dy'd *Pertinax*, after he had liv'd in great Reputation for his Integrity and Virtue, as is before related.

After it was nois'd abroad that the Emperor was assasinated, all Places were full of Sorrow and Confusion; the People in a strange Ferment ran about the Streets, as if they had been seiz'd by some sudden epidemical Madness, seeking the Authors of this detestable Villainy, but in vain; for they could not find them; and if they had, they were out of their Power. But the Senators were the most sensibly affected; they saw how deep a Wound it had given to the Publick, and what a Loss they had sustain'd, not only of a gentle Prince, but of an indulgent Father; and now

they

they look'd for a Re-establishment of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, which they knew would be grateful to the Soldiers.

But after two or three Days, the People took Counsel of their Fears, and were dispos'd to be quiet. Those amongst them that were of eminent Quality, left the City, and retreated to their Country-houses which were at the greatest distance from it, to avoid all Inconveniences which their Presence might expose them to in the next Reign. The Soldiers, after they found the Popular Rage abated, and perceiv'd that no Man would be so hardy as to revenge the Emperor's Death, kept themselves within their Trenches, and appointed such as had the best Lungs to make Proclamation upon the Walls, that the Empire was to be sold by *Auction*, that he that offer'd the most should be the Purchaser, adding, that they would invest him with the Imperial Dignity by Force of Arms, and conduct him in Safety to the Palace. This Proclamation did not

move any of the Senators that were Men of Reputation and Authority, nor any of those few rich Men that had surviv'd the Tyranny of *Commodus*: none of these approach'd the Wall, but scorn'd even the Empire of the World, where the Means to attain it were so dishonourable.

The News of this Proclamation was brought to *Julian*, a Man of Consular Dignity, and one that had the Reputation of great Possessions, when he was at Supper, carousing and regaling himself; for he was censur'd for being very often guilty of these Excesses: Hereupon his Wife and Daughter, falling in with a multitude of Parasites that were there, advis'd him with all speed to rise from the Table, and inform himself of this Matter, persuading him all along as he went, not to suffer the Empire to lie expos'd for want of a Purchaser, and telling him, that he was able to give as good a Price as the best of them, if any Person should dispute that Point with him. As soon as he came near the

Wall,

Wall, he cry'd aloud, that he would give whatsoever they demanded, and withal gave in a Particular of his Estate, and of the vast Treasures which he posses'd. Hither also repair'd *Sulpicianus*, with the same Intention. He was too a Consular Man, and had been Praefect of the City, and was Father-in-Law to *Pertinax*; but they would not hearken to any Proposals of his, because of his Alliance to *Pertinax*, which gave them a Jealousie that there was some Fraud or Collusion at the Bottom, in order to revenge *Pertinax*'s Death.

Hereupon they put down a Ladder, and took *Julian* up to the Top of the Wall, but would not open the Gates till the Bargain was struck up, and the Sum ascertain'd: After which having enter'd the Camp, he engag'd his Faith and Honour to them for the Restitution of the Memory, Honours, and Statues of *Commodus*, which were taken down by Order of the Senate; as also for the Restoring all those Privileges which they had enjoy'd during his Reign.

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He gave to every Soldier more than he did expect, or could have demanded; which he promis'd to pay down in ready Cash, giving out that he had the Money in Bank. These Things highly satisfied the Soldiers, and buoy'd them up into mighty Expectances; insomuch that they immediately proclaim'd him Emperor, and honour'd him with the Surname of *Commodus*; then flourishing their Ensigns, and restoring the Images of *Commodus*, they prepar'd to conduct him to the Palace: Whereupon he sacrific'd according to the Custom, and march'd out of the Camp with a stronger Guard than ordinary; for having by Force, contrary to the Inclinations of the People, by base Means, and shameful Condescensions, obtain'd the Empire, he had too just Reason to fear the Insults of the *Mobile*. Therefore the Soldiers put on their whole Armour, and form'd themselves into a Regular Body, that if Occasion should require; they might be in condition to engage any that should oppose them. They re-

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ceiv'd the Emperor into the Middle, and bearing their Spears and Targets over their Heads, to shelter them from the Stones which might be thrown upon them from the Houses, in this manner they guarded him to the Palace, none appearing to make any Resistance. But the People did not receive him with those Acclamations of Joy which are usual upon the like Occasions; but standing at a distance, bestow'd a great many Curses and Execrations upon him, for shamefully trucking the *Roman* Empire for Gold with those base Mercenaries. And from hence it is that we must date the total Corruption of the *Roman* Soldiers, their sordid and insatiable Desires of Money, with their Contempt of Sovereign Power; for no Body appearing to execute Vengeance upon them for this barbarous Assassination of their Prince, or to oppose this ignominious *Auction* of the Empire, from this Time they grew proud and arrogant: Their Avarice with their Contempt of Princes, encreas'd, even to the offering Violence to their Persons.

Julian after he had obtain'd the Empire, fell into an eager Pursuit of sensual unmanly Pleasures, became regardless of Publick Concerns, and abandon'd himself to Luxury and Dissoluteness of Manners: He also disappointed the Soldiers, being unable to perform his Promises; for he had not those vast Treasures which he boasted himself to be Master of, and the Exchequer was exhausted by the late Profusions of *Commodus*. The Soldiers were in great Wrath to be thus bubbl'd; and the People understanding how they were affected, began also to slight and despise him, insomuch that they would revile him as he pass'd along, and upbraid him with his Debaucheries, and in the Publick Cirque, where there is the greatest Concourse of People, reproach'd him openly, and call'd upon *Niger* to deliver the *Roman* Empire from so infamous a Governor, and to undertake the Administration of it himself.

This *Niger* had been Consul heretofore, and was at this time Governor of

Syria,

Syria, which is a Place of the greatest Trust and Honour in the *Roman* Empire; for the *Phoenicians* and all the Country as far as *Euphrates*, is under his Government. He was past the Meridian of his Age, and by his Conduct in several Actions and Expeditions had gain'd the Reputation of Gentleness, and Dexterity in Affairs. He was a great Imitator of *Pertinax*, whose Life he made the Standard of his own: This made him a powerful Interest amongst the People, insomuch that in all their Assemblies they repeated their Clamours and Demands of him to be their Prince, loading *Julian* with Reproaches to his Face, and at the same time extolling *Niger*, tho' he was absent, with the highest Demonstrations of Good-will and Affection.

After *Niger* was advertis'd how violent the People were for him, which they had declar'd by their constant Actions and Proceedings in their Assemblies, he began to flatter himself that he had a very fair Prospect, and that it was in his

his own Power to make the Issue answerable to it ; especially when he consider'd how *Julian* was slighted and dis-regarded by the Soldiers, whose Creature he was, because he had not kept Touch in the Payment of the Money according to the Contract ; as also how much he was despis'd by the People , who esteem'd him unworthy of the Empire, which he had so dishonourably purchas'd. Upon these Encouragements he began to entertain Hopes of advancing himself to the Empire. And, in the first place, he sent for certain Tribunes, with other principal Officers and Commanders of Note, with whom he discours'd this Matter, giving them to understand in what Posture Affairs were at *Rome*, and afterwards sent them home one after another, with Design that these Rumours should by this Means be dispers'd far and near over all the Eastern Countries ; for he thought more Men would favour and adhere to him in this Enterprize, if they were perswaded that he was not prompted by his

Ambition

Ambition to invade the Empire, but was call'd by the *Romans* to their Aid and Assistance. Upon these Rumours the People came in to him in great Numbers , importuning him with repeated Sollicitations to take the Sovereign Authority upon him : For the *Syrians* are a capricious People, and naturally prone to Innovation and Change ; and *Niger* was a Man that was very Popular, in regard of that uniform Gentleness and Equity with which he had govern'd them. He us'd also very often to exhibit Publick Shows for their Diver-sion, the *Syrians* being naturally very much delighted with these kinds of Entertainments ; and in *Antioch*, a great and flourishing City, there are Games and Festivals celebrated almost every Day in the Year, either in the City or the Suburbs. By this exhibiting Publick Shows, by ruling them with a gentle Hand, and allowing them Leisure and Liberty to pursue their Recreations, he engag'd the People entirely in his Interests, and was generally belov'd and respected by all Men.

Men. This Niger knew very well ; and now he issu'd out his Orders to the Soldiers to appear at a Day appointed, at which Time vast Numbers of other People were assembled , to whom he spoke as follows, from a Rostrum erected there for that purpose.

NIGER'S SPEECH.

I Suppose, Gentlemen, I need not inform you of the Gentleness of my Nature, and of the Conduct and Caution which I have always us'd in undertaking Matters of Importance. I should not have detain'd you with this Harangue, had I been led by private Inclination, Ambition, or any vain imaginary Prospect : But now I am call'd by the unanimous and incessant Clamours of the Roman People, to assert the Publick Honour, and not to suffer the Empire, which has been so glorious from all Antiquity, to lie under such Infamy and Disgrace. Now, Gentlemen, as it would be the highest Presumption and Rashness to attempt a Thing of this Nature without an Occasion offer'd ; so

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in my Case, to neglect the Cries and Petitions of the People, would cast upon me the Imputation of Cowardice and Treachery ? And the true Motive of this Address is to know your Sentiments, and concert with you what is proper to be done in this Conjunction ; for 'tis your Counsels must be the Measure of my Proceedings in this Affair. The Issue, if Fortunate, will have a good Influence upon our Common Interest , and will redound to your Benefit, as well as mine. They are not slight Grounds we go upon ; we are invited by the Roman People, whom the Gods have impower'd to dispose and administer all Things below. The Succession remains unsettled, and no Man is yet establish'd in the Empire. There is no Hazard in this Enterprize, as well by reason of the Zeal and Affectiion of our own Party, as that there are none to oppose us : For all our Advices from Rome agree, that even those Soldiers that advanc'd Julian to the Empire, are not firm to his Interests, in regard he has not perform'd the Conditions of his Advancement. I desire you therefore to declare your selves upon this Subject.

No sooner had he spoke these Words, but the whole Army and People that were there assembled, in the height of their Zeal proclaim'd him Emperor, and immediately put Purple Robes upon him, with the other Ornaments of Majesty ; after which they conducted him to the Temples of *Antioch*, and from thence to his House, carrying Fire before him all the way with great formality. His House they did not look upon any longer as Private, but adorn'd it on the Out-side with all the Marks and Characters of Imperial Majesty.

Niger was much delighted with the Zeal and Affection which the People both at *Rome* and *Antioch* testified for him, and began to think himself secure of the Empire. After the Report thereof was spread abroad, all the Nations bordering upon *Europe* came in, to tender him their Homage and Service ; and Embassies were sent from all Sides to *Antioch*, as to a Just and Lawful Emperor. The Nations also that inhabit beyond *Tygris* and *Euphrates* dispatch'd

their

their Envoys to him to make the Congratulations usual upon the Occasion, and to promise him their Succour and Assistance in case his Affairs should require it. He rewarded them all very splendidly, and thank'd them for the Zeal and Affection which they had discover'd for him, affirming, That as his Affairs then stood, he had no need of their Succour, forasmuch as the Empire was assur'd to him ; and added withall, That he would take especial care that his Reign should not be defil'd with Blood.

This Security made him grow remiss and negligent, insomuch that he entertain'd the People of *Antioch* with Shows and Publick Games, and resign'd himself wholly to Ease and Pleasure, not marching directly to *Rome*, as it would have behov'd him in the first place to have done, nor certifying the *Illyrian* Army of what had been transacted here ; whereas it ought to have been his principal Effort to gain so considerable a Party over to his Interest : But he suppos'd

pos'd that they would not dissent to what the *Roman* People and the Eastern Army had so unanimously approv'd. Whilst he was lift up in this manner by groundless Hopes, and false Estimates of Things, the Fame of what had hapned reach'd *Pannonia* and *Illyria*, and the Armies that lay encamp'd upon the *Ister* and the *Rhine*, to restrain the Inroads of the *Barbarians*, and to cover the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire.

Severus was at this time General of the *Pannonian* Forces; for they were all under one Commander. He was by Nation an *African*, a hot and violent Spirit, that had been inur'd to Toils and Hardships, and was indefatigable in Labour, quick too at inventing, and ready in executing what he had contriv'd. Upon Intelligence that the Empire lay expos'd to any Person that had Courage to seize upon it, he contemn'd the Pretenders *Julian* and *Niger*, the one because he had neither Power nor Strength to effect any thing; the other, because he did not make use of what he had.

had. His Confidence was also heighten'd by Dreams, Oracles, and Predictions, which are then the most believ'd when they are made good by the Event. Most of these he has recorded in the History of his Life, and preserv'd in Statuary Representations. The last, being that which made the strongest Impressions upon him, and gave him the greatest Assurances, ought not to be pass'd over in silence.

When the News came to Severus that *Pertinax* was elected Emperor, after he had sacrific'd, and taken the Oaths of Allegiance to him, he return'd home, and fell asleep, and was presented with this Visionary Scene; He saw a stately Horse adorn'd with Imperial Accoutrements, bearing *Pertinax* on his Back through the City, along the Sacred Way but when he came to the Entrance of the *Forum*, where the Assemblies of the People were held whilst the Government continued under the form of a Popular State, he began to flounce and caper till he had thrown him to the Ground, I. and

and immediately making his Submission to *Severus*, receiv'd him upon his Back, and carried him very quietly into the middle of the *Forum*, where he stood aloft, and commanded the Eyes and Admiration of the Multitude. This Vision is yet to be seen in the very same place, represented in a large Statue of Brass.

Severus having his Hopes rais'd to this Pitch, and flattering himself into an Opinion that the Gods had made choice of him to govern the Empire, resolv'd to try the Inclinations of the Soldiers; and to this end call'd to him certain Tribunes, and other Officers of principal Note, with these he enter'd into Discourses concerning the present State of the *Roman Empire*, and represented to them how the Sovereign Power was prostituted to all Persons that durst usurp it, and that none appeared worthy or able to execute so high and important a Trust: He would also take occasion to inveigh against the *Prætorian* Soldiers, for the having violated their Military Oath, by spilling the Blood of their

Emperour; adding, That so heinous a Crime shou'd be aton'd for, and that *Pertinax*'s Death ought to be reveng'd: He knew very well they honour'd his Memory, in regard of the many Victories they had obtain'd under his Command against the *Germans*, in the Reign of *Marcus*; and when he was Governour of *Illyria*, he had given many eminent Proofs of his Bravery and Conduct in several Engagements, and had practis'd an uniform Gentleness, Humanity, and Justice towards his Subjects in the whole Tenor of his Publick Actions in that Station; for which Reasons they had a peculiar Veneration for his Memory, and resented very highly that inhuman Butchery committed upon his Person. In short, he made so good use of this Occasion, that he easily led and manag'd them as he pleas'd, pretending still to move on a far different Spring from what he did; that the Empire was what he neither thought of, nor affected, and that the utmost of his Ambition was to revenge the Death

116 *The Life and Reign of*

of so great a Prince. These artificial Colours easily impos'd on the People, for the Natives of this Country as they are Tall of Stature, of a strong Make of Body, and fit for Service and Action, so they are generally very Stupid, and slow of Apprehension, which is the reason that they very rarely suspect any thing of Collusion or Intrigue in any thing you either say or do. So when *Severus* declar'd that his Intention was only to do Justice on the Murtherers of *Pertinax*, they all so unanimously espous'd his Interest, that they instantly proclaim'd him Emperor, and put the Sovereign Power into his Hands.

Having thus discover'd the Sentiments of the *Pannonian* Soldiers, he immediately made his Court to the Neighbouring Nations, and to the *Præfектs* of the Northern Provinces, whom he easily allur'd by fair Promises; for no Man in the World made professions of Kindness and Friendship with more Art and Address than *Severus*: He was no Man of nice Conscience, but wou'd

lye and falsifie without scruple to serve a Turn, and wou'd even stretch an Oath if his Affairs requir'd it: His Words being always different, and often opposite to his Intention. And now having secur'd to himself all *Illyria*, and the *Præfектs* of the neighbouring Provinces, he rais'd vast numbers of Soldiers from all Parts, and took upon himself the Name of *Pertinax*, which he thought would be acceptable both to the *Illyrians* and the *Romans*, after which, having order'd them to rendezvous in a certain place, he spoke to them as follows, from a Throne there erected.

SEVERUS his SPEECH.

Gentlemen,

YOU have abundantly testify'd your Piety to the Gods, by whom you have sworn, and your Reverence of Crown'd Heads, by the Abhorrence you've express'd of this barbarous and unnatural Treason committed by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, a Band of Wretches corrupted by Peace, and unserviceable in War, and much fitter to adorn a Triumph

than to obtain a Victory; and so just are your Resentments on this Occasion, that I cannot but comply with what you desire; nor do I doubt of Success in an Enterprize which you all fall into with so much Zeal and Carefulness; tho' before this time I never durst conceive a Hope of atchieving so great a Work. There is none I believe amongst you, but will render a Testimony to the Loyalty of my Principles; but at this time the Honour of the Empire is concern'd, which ought to be asserted from the Scandal and Infamy it now lies under. Our Ancestors had always especial Care of the Administration, that it might be free from all Abuses and Corruptions tending to its Dishonour, and then we commanded Respect and Reverence from all the Nations around us, even in the Reign of Commodus, tho' the Publick might suffer through the Inadvertencies of his Youth, yet the Memory of his Father, and his own high Birth, gave a Coak and Varnish to those Errors, and upon Review of his Actions, we shall find that they ought rather to move our Compassion than our Hatred; for he is not to be esteem'd

steem'd the Author of what was done then, but his Flatterers and Counsellors that advis'd and assisted him in all his unwarrantable Proceedings. And when Pertinax, whose Worth and Virtue you all remember, was elected Emperor, they were still unquiet, grew insolent and factious, nor would any thing satisfie them till they had remov'd that excellent Prince by an inhumane Violence acted upon his Person. And now Julian, that has purchas'd the Empire by an infamous Bargain and Sale, is hated (as you hear) by the People, and not supported by the Soldiers, with whom he has violated his Faith and Honour; and tho' they should adhere to him, yet neither are they equal to us in Number, nor in the personal Bravery of their Men. You are Veterane Soldiers, train'd up in a Course of Military Actions; you have repress'd the Insults of Barbarous Enemies, are inur'd to the Hardships of War, have born the Extremities of Heat and Cold, have march'd over frozen Rivers, drunk Puddle-Water, chas'd wild Beasts; and I must say this in your Commendation, I don't believe that there are this Day in the World Soldiers

diers that are able to stand against you: For 'tis Labour is the Test of a good Soldier, and not Pleasure, with which they are so soften'd and emasculated, that even your Warlike Shouts will shock their Courages, and scare them into a Submission. And as for the Syrian Faction, if any among you apprehend any thing from that side, tis evident in how weak a Condition they are, and to what a low Ebb their Hopes are sunk, because they keep themselves within their own Country, and dare not so much as enter into Debate whether or no they shall march to Rome, but content themselves to live at large during the Confusion and Licence of an unsettled Government; and its well known, that tis the Talent of the Syrians to rally with a bon grace, and that they are generally better Drolls than Soldiers. Those that live in Antioch are they which appear the most Zealous for Niger. The other Cities and Provinces do declare for him at present, because no other Pretender appears that is worthy of the Empire, or is able to Govern it with Prudence and Resolution: But if they be advertis'd that the Illyrian Army have

have set up a Competitor, and shall bear my Name, which is very well known amongst them since I govern'd in those Parts, believe me, Gentlemen, they are too well acquainted with my Courage and Conduct to despise either: Nor will they be willing to sustain the force of your Arms, or the vigour of your Attacks, being so much inferiour to you in Stature of Body, and military Discipline. In fine, my Advice is to march directly to Rome, and possess our selves of the City and Palace, and then we shall easily accomplish what remains, having Human Force and Divine Prediction to support us in this Affiance.

The Soldiers signify'd their Approbation of this Speech, in loud Acci-
mations of Joy, calling Severus Sov-
reign and Pertinax, with all the Testi-
monies of an extraordinary Forward-
ness and Zeal for him. Severus gave
them not time for their Affections to
cool, but instantly commanded them to
put themselves in readiness, and to
march directly to Rome, distributing
Victuals

Victuals to them, with all other Provisions and Necessaries for a March. This Expedition he perform'd with incredible Swiftness, not so much as halting at any Place, unless it was to let the Soldiers take breath, that were fatigu'd with constant marching. He himself shar'd the Toil of the Journey, lying always in an ordinary Tent, and living upon the same course Fare that serv'd the other Soldiers, without any thing of the Luxury of Courts, or the Delicacy of Kings. This confirm'd to him the Benovolence of the Soldiers; for when they saw him undergo the same Hardships, or rather greater than they underwent, they could not but reverence him, and were upon the vie amongst themselves who should appear the most ready to serve him.

After he had march'd through *Pannonia*, and was come to the Mountains of *Italy*, preventing all Intelligence of his Approach by the swiftness of his March, he appear'd in *Italy* before it was known that he was upon his Way.

This

This sudden descent of so puissant an Army, put the Cities of *Italy* into a terrible Consternation; for the People of this Country having been long disus'd to the Tumults and Alarms of War, had apply'd themselves to the Tillage of the Ground, and other Arts of Peace. Indeed while the *Roman* Government remained under the Form of a Democracy, and the Senate granted Commissions to their Generals, the *Italians* were always in Arms, and having conquer'd the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, gain'd an entire Sovereignty of Land and Sea. Nor was there any Country or Climate in Earth or Heaven, whither the *Romans* had not extended their Conquests. But when *Augustus* became Emperor, he disarm'd them, and put an End to their Toils, and committed the Guard and Defence of the Empire to Mercenary Forces, which he maintain'd in the nature of a Standing Army, to be a Wall and Barrier to his Dominions, which were also naturally fortify'd by great Rivers, deep Ditches, craggy

For these Reasons the Approach of *Severus* with so formidable an Army, being a thing so unusual, put the People into a terrible Confusion, for they were unable to oppose or give him any Diversion, and therefore they went out to meet him with Branches of Laurel, and receiv'd him with open Gates ; he stay'd no longer with them than till he had sacrific'd, and harangu'd the People, and then proceeded on his March to *Rome*.

Julian was in great Consternation upon the Intelligence which he receiv'd of the Progress of *Severus*, and of the Strength and Number of the *Illyrian* Army ; he knew that he was universally hated by the People, and could repose no great Confidence in the Soldiers, with whom he had apparently broken his Promise : however he amassed what Money he could, part whereof was his own, part he borrow'd of his Friends, besides what he had got by pillaging

pillaging Temples, and other Publick Places ; and distributed it among the Soldiers to retrieve his Credit and Interest with them ; but they, though they receiv'd very considerable Summs, thought themselves under no Obligations to him, looking upon them not as free Gifts, but as payments of just Debts.

Those that favour'd *Julian*, advised him to draw out his Army, and block up the Streights of the *Alps*. These *Alps* are vastly high Mountains, the like to which are none in these Parts, bounding *Italy* like a Wall, Nature having added to those other Bounties which she has heaped upon this Country, that of an impregnable Fortification, extending from the Northern to the Southern Seas ; but *Julian* durst not leave the City, but entreated the Soldiers to betake themselves to their Arms and Military Exercises, whilst he provided Ammunition, and put all things in readiness to give *Severus* Battle in the City. The Elephants which were kept for

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for State and Parade, he endeavoured to manage, and make fit for Service, supposing that the *Illyrian* Men and Horses wou'd be terrify'd by the monstrous Size, and uncouth Shape of these Beasts, the like to which they had never seen; and all the City was busied in making Arms and Engines of War.

While *Julian*'s Soldiers were thus employed in making themselves ready for the Battle, the News came that *Severus* was upon them; for he had detach'd a great part of his Army, with orders to convey themselves into the City secretly in small unobserv'd Parties, which they did at Night, entring by different Ways, and concealing their Arms under the Habit of Country Peasants; and now the Enemy was in the Heart of the City before *Julian* was aware, or knew any thing of the Matter. Whereupon the People, fearing the Power of *Severus*, immediately fell in with that Faction, and declar'd for him, vilifying and reproaching *Niger* and *Julian*, the

first

first for his Lazyness, and the latter for his Cowardice, and extolling in the mean time *Severus* to the Skies, who was then advancing towards the City.

Julian at this time being irresolute, and uncertain what Counsels to pursue, call'd a Senate, and sent Letters to *Severus*, wherein he made Overtures of a Treaty to him, and offered him a Partnership of the Empire. The Senate readily concurred with him in this Proposal; but when they saw him reduc'd to this height of Despair, made a general Defection to *Severus*; and within two or three Days after, when the Report of his Arrival was confirmed, disowned his Authority, and were conven'd by Order of the Consuls, to whom the Administration of Affairs is committed while the Supreme Power is under Contest. Being thus assembled, they enter'd into Debate about the Measures to be taken in this Conjunction. *Julian* still remaining in the Imperial Palace, bewailing the present Catastrophe of his Fortune, and re-

requesting that he might renounce his Claim to the Empire, and render up his Power and Authority to *Severus*.

But when the Senate understood that he was in this Consternation, and that his Guards had all deserted him for fear of *Severus*, they determin'd to put him to Death, and to declare *Severus* sole Emperor, and instantly order'd an Embassy to *Severus*, compos'd of the Principal Magistrates, and such as were of the greatest Consideration in the Senate, to make a Tender of the Imperial Honours to him, and at the same time commission'd a certain Tribune to dispatch *Julian*, (that miserable Wretch that by his Money had purchas'd his Ruin.) He found him forsaken and abandon'd by all Men, and executed his Warrant upon him ; his Deportment in this last Scene arguing the same Meanness of Spirit which he had discovered in the whole Course of his former Life. After *Severus* was inform'd of the Proceedings of the Senate, and of the Death of *Julian*, he began to have

greater

greater Matters in view, and made use of this Stratagem to get all those into his Power that were concern'd in the Murder of *Pertinax*. He sent Letters to the Tribunes, and other Principal Officers, importuning, that they should perswade the *Prætorian* Soldiers to a Submission to all his Commands ; and promis'd them great Rewards, provided they should effect what he had given them in Charge. Afterwards he put out an Edict, commanding the Soldiers to leave their Arms in the Camp, and to march out attir'd (as they were wont to be when they attended the Emperor at a Sacrifice or Festival) and to take the Oaths of Fidelity to him, as if they were to have been continu'd in the Post they were then in. They easily believ'd all this, and were prevail'd upon by their Officers to leave their Arms according to the Tenor of the Edict, and march'd out with Branches of Laurel, in the Habits which they appear in only at Publick Solemnities.

After they were arriv'd at Severus's Camp, he commanded them to assemble in the Field, as if he had design'd only some Civilities to them upon the Interview: They obey'd; and as soon as they saw him ascend the Bench of State, they all broke out into Acclamations of Joy; and that very Moment the Signal being given, were all made Prisoners. For Severus had order'd his Soldiers, as soon as their Eyes were fix'd upon him, and their Minds were in suspence and amuzement, to surround them in Martial manner, but not to wound or strike any of them, but only to keep them hemm'd in, and mount their Spears and present their Javelins to them, that being few, and without Arms, they might not attempt any Opposition, for fear of being wounded. When they were thus encompas'd, in a loud Voice, and full of Wrath and Anger, he spoke to them as follows.

SEVERUS

SEVERUS his SPEECH.

Gentlemen, I suppose you find by Experience, that we are superior to you as well in Conduct, as in the Strength and Number of our Forces. You are all reduc'd here, and made our Prisoners, without striking a Blow. 'Tis in my Power to do with you what I think fit, and, if I please, to sacrifice you to my present Resentment. If I should endeavour to proportion a Reward to the Greatness of your Villainy, 'twould be in vain; for your Crime exceeds all Measures and Degrees of Punishment. You have basely murther'd a good and gracious Prince, whom you ought to have guarded and defended. And whereas our Ancestors in the Choice of Emperors were chiefly moved by Highness of Birth, and the excellent Qualities of the Pretenders, you have basely and infamously barter'd the Empire for Gold, as if it had been your own Property: And moreover, when you had set up an Emperor, you durst not protect him, but by a singular Instance of perfidious Cowar-

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dice betray'd and abandon'd him. For these Crimes you are worthy of a thousand Deaths, would I inflict a Punishment equal to the Heinousness of your Guilt: This is what Justice you ought to suffer. I will pardon you so far, as not to imitate your own Cruelty; but it is neither just nor fit that after you have thus manifestly broken your Oath, and defil'd your Hands with the Blood of your Emperor and Fellow-Citizen; after you have violated your Faith, and betray'd this your Trust, that you should yet guard the Body of your Prince. Your Lives and Liberties you shall owe to my Clemency; but I shall command these my Soldiers to strip you of all your Military Equipage, and to send you away naked. And moreover, I command you all to depart this City, and from henceforward do make it Capital for any of you to appear within a hundred Miles of Rome.

As soon as these Orders were given, the Illyrians immediately flew upon them, and plunder'd them of their Bagonets, which were curiously adorn'd with Gold and

and Silver, and made only to be worn in Solemn Pomps and Processions; tore off their Belts, Coats, &c. with all their other Military Equipage, and sent them away naked. They were forc'd to submit, being caught and over-reach'd by this Politick Fetch of *Severus*: For what could a few naked Men do against a numerous and well appointed Army? They march'd off bewailing their hard Fortune, but were pleas'd however that they had escap'd with their Lives, nothing regretting them so much as that they should be thus shamefully decoy'd and caught by parting so easily with their Arms. *Severus* made use of another Stratagem; for he was afraid that being thus stripp'd, they might grow desperate, and return to their Camp, and so rally again. Therefore he detach'd some of the best of his Troops, commanding them to march by secret Ways, and possess themselves of their Camp, while it lay open and unguarded, and secure their Arms, that in case they should attempt to re-enter, they might be able

to repulse them. This was the End of the Murderers of *Pertinax*.

Severus, with the Remainder of his Army rang'd in Order of Battel, march'd directly to *Rome*. This struck Terror into the *Roman* People, when they consider'd his bold and fortunate Exploits. The People and Senate went out to meet him, with Branches of *Laurel*, being the first of Emperors or Men that had accomplish'd so great a Work without shedding a Drop of Blood, or striking so much as a Stroke. He had many excellent Qualities, which commanded Veneration and Respect: Of this Number were his Sagacity, his indefatigable Industry, his Assurance and Courage in embarking in great Adventures. After the People had receiv'd him with Acclamations of Joy, and the Senate had complemented him at the Gates of the City, he repair'd to the Temple of *Jupiter*, where he sacrific'd, as he did also at the other Temples, in conformity to the Custom; and from thence he retir'd to the Imperial Palace.

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The next Day he appear'd in the Senate, where he spoke to them with a great deal of Mildness and Temper, giving them great Assurances of future Blessings. He treated all Men in Publick and Private with an obliging Respect, declaring, that the Intent of his Coming was to revenge the Death of *Pertinax*, and establish an *Aristocracy*; that no Man's Life should be taken away, nor any Man's Goods confiscated, without Legal Trial; that he would not give Ear to Informers; that he would make it his principal Study and Endeavour, that his Subjects might be Happy under his Government; that he would govern by the same Measures that *Marcus* had rule'd by before him; that he would not only assume the Name of *Pertinax*, but that he would also imitate his excellent Qualities. These and the like Professions, won to him the Affections and Confidence of the People: Indeed some of the Old Men that were acquainted with his Temper, inform'd them secretly, that he was an old practis'd

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Etis'd Hypocrite, that he manag'd all Things by Art and Intrigue, that he would lie, falsifie, dissemble, do any thing in the World to serve an Interest; all which they found to be true afterwards by Experience.

Severus made only a short Stay in *Rome*, during which he gave a large Dole to the People, and Donatives to the Soldiers: Out of these he chose such as had signaliz'd their Bravery above the rest, to guard the Empire, in the Room of thole that had been cashier'd; and then prepar'd for his Expedition into the East; for *Niger*, thoughtless and undesigning, lay still in *Antioch*, dissolv'd in Luxury and Pleasure; and *Severus* intended to surprise him, before he had Intelligence of his Coming, or could put himself in Condition to oppose him. So he issu'd out Orders to the Soldiers to be in a readines to march upon the shortest warning; he drew together his Army from all Parts, made new Levies in *Italy*, and commanded that Part of the *Illyrian* Army which was

was left, to joyn him in *Thrace*; he also equipp'd a Navy, and mann'd out all the *Italian* Ships that were fit for Service; and these mighty Levies, as well for Sea as Land, were compleated in a short time: For he knew he should have Occasion for a very formidable Force, to reduce all that Continent which lies opposite to *Europe*, which universally adher'd to *Niger*. These were the Preparations he made for the War.

But being a Man of great Wisdom and Foresight, he was jealous of the *British* Forces, which were very numerous, and consisted of gallant Men: They were under the Command of *Albinus*, a Man nobly descended, and one that had liv'd from his Youth in Pleasure and Plenty. *Severus* therefore resolv'd by a Strain of Court-Skill to gain this Man over to him; for he fear'd lest having so many Incentives to Ambition and Desire of Rule, (as his Wealth, his Birth, the Strength of his Army, his Reputation with the *Romans*) he might be induc'd to seize upon the Empire, and surprize

surprise *Rome*, which is not far from *Britain*, while he was engag'd in a War in the East. He thought the best Way to allure him, was by a shew of Honour and Deference ; for he was at all times very weak and open to the Practices of designing Men, and now readily believ'd *Severus's* Promises, which he enforc'd with Oaths, and all the Solemnity imaginable. He therefore declar'd him his Colleague, anticipating his Ambition, by offering him a Share in the Empire, and sent him Letters full of Professions of Friendship and Amity, and entreated him to apply himself to the Administration of the Empire ; adding, that the Publick Affairs requir'd a Man that was nobly descended, and in the Flower of his Age ; that he was very old, and afflicted with the Gout ; that his Children were young, and unfit for Busines, &c. *Albinus* was easie of belief, and readily catch'd at the Proposal, being highly satisfied to have attain'd the Ends of his Ambition without any Hazard or Trouble in the attaining.

Severus

Severus acquainted the Senate with his Intention ; and that he might satisfie them and the World of his Sincerity, he commanded Moneys to be stamp'd with *Albinus's* Image, and order'd his Statues to be erected, and all other Imperial Honours to be paid to him : And after he had made all Things secure on that Side, by his politick Management of *Albinus*, and had freed himself from the Apprehensions of a Diversion from *Britain*, and the *Illyrian* Armies were united, and he had order'd all Things at home as he thought most convenient in the present Conjunction, he advanc'd with his Army against *Niger*. Now, as for the Halts he made in his March, his Speeches in the Towns which he pass'd through, the Signs which appear'd from Heaven, the Countries through which he march'd, his Engagements, the Number of the Slain on both Sides, these you will find related with more accuracy by the Historians and Poets, who undertook only the single Life of *Severus*. But I have taken upon me to report down to Posterity

sterity all the remarkable Occurrences which have hapned within my Memory and Observation, under divers Reigns, in the whole Course of 70 Years. The principal therefore, and most memorable of *Severus's* Atchievements, we shall relate in the Prosecution of this History, not extolling any thing out of favour or devotion to a Party, as the Writers of that Age have done; nor omitting any thing that is worthy to be recorded.

A N

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O F T H E
Third Book.

Niger being advertiz'd that *Severus* had seiz'd the Empire, and was advancing against him, makes all the Preparations he can to oppese him. *Severus* enters Asia, defeats Niger's Army at Cyzicum, and afterwards in Bithynia, and takes Cappadocia by Siege: Then forcing his Way through the Fortifications of the Taurus, he marches through Cilicia, and in the Bay of Issicum engages Niger, and after a sharp Dispute, routs him, and puts him to flight: He escapes to Antioch, and is there kill'd. Afterwards Animosities breaking out between *Severus* and *Albinus*, occasion

occasion a War between them. Lions is the Scene of Action ; where after an obstinate Fight, Severus vanquishes his Enemies, and takes the Town, and cutting off Albinus's Head, sends it to Rome. Then Severus makes War again in Asia, invades Armenia and Arabia the Happy, and entring the Country of the Atrenians, sits down before Atræ, and besieges it a long time, without effect ; but being forc'd in his Return upon the Coasts of Parthia, obtains a Victory which he little thought of, and returns to Rome in Triumph. At Rome he applies himself to Business both Publick and Private ; marries his Son Antoninus to a Daughter of Plautian's, who enters into Conspiracy against him, and is discover'd by Saturninus a Tribune, and put to Death. His last Expedition is into Britain, where the War lasting longer than he expected, dies before 'tis ended. The Empire descends upon Antoninus and Geta, who leave Britain, and return with their Father's Ashes to Rome.

The

The Third Book.

The Account of the violent Deaths of Pertinax and Julian, with Severus his March to Rome, and his Expedition against Niger, is finish'd in the former Book. But when Niger heard the unexpected News, that Severus had surpriz'd Rome, and was declar'd Emperor by the Senate, and that he was advancing against him with the whole Illyrian Army, and with other mighty Forces, both by Sea and Land, he was in a terrible Consternation, and immediately issu'd out Orders to the *Prefects* of the Provinces, to take all possible Precautions for the blocking up all the Ports and Approaches, and sent to the Kings of Parthia and Armenia, and to the King of the Atrenians, to demand Succours. The Armenians return'd Answer, that they would not espouse any Party, but would content themselves to defend their own Territories. The Parthian promis'd to give

give out Commissions to his Peers to levy Forces, which is their Method, when the Necessity of their Affairs oblige them to raise an Army; for they don't maintain any Standing Force in constant Pay. The *Atrenians* sent some Companies of Archers to their Assistance, by order of their King *Barse-mius*. The rest of his Army was compos'd of the Soldiers that were under his Command, and of the Citizens of *Antioch*, great Numbers of which being push'd on by their natural Levity, and Zeal for *Niger*, listed themselves in his Service, rather rashly, than upon due Consideration of the present Juncture of Affairs.

Niger also commanded the Streights of the *Taurus* to be block'd up with a strong Wall and Fortification, supposing that the impassable Cragginess of this Mountain would be an impregnable Screen and Bulwark to the Eastern Countries. This *Taurus* lies between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and divides the Northern from the Eastern Nations.

He

He detach'd also part of his Army to take in *Byzantium*, the greatest and most flourishing City of *Thrace*, by reason of the Wealth as well as Number of its Inhabitants: It is situated upon the narrowest Fret of the *Propontis*, and has considerable Revenues from the Sea, arising out of Imposts, and the Fishing Trade: Her Possessions also at Land are of large extent, and fertile Soil; so, in short, both Elements pay her Tribute, and conspire to make her rich. This City *Niger* had a great mind to be Master of, in regard it was the strongest Town in those Parts, and he suppos'd would give him an absolute Command of the Narrow Sea through which all Ships pass out of *Europe* into *Asia*. This City is encompass'd with a strong Wall, built of square *Milesian* Stones, so closely cemented, that it might easily impose upon a Man for a solid intire Rock: And if at this Day you survey the Ruines of this Wall, you cannot but admire the incomparable Skill of him that first built it, and the puissant Force

Force of those that afterwards demolish'd it. These were the Precautions which *Niger* took, very wisely and prudently, as he thought.

In the mean time *Severus* with hasty Marches advanc'd with his Army, without halting or resting; and hearing that the Enemies had possess'd themselves of *Byzantium*, and knowing that that City was strongly fortified, he march'd to *Cyzicum*; of which *Æmilian* being advertis'd, whom *Niger* had intrusted with the highest Command, and in truth with the whole Conduct of the War, he march'd also to *Cyzicum* with his whole Army, compos'd of his own Levies, and the Soldiers which *Niger* had sent him. When they were come together, after divers sharp Engagements, *Severus* obtain'd an intire Victory, *Niger*'s Army being routed and put to Flight. By this Success the *Illyrians* were flush'd and took Courage; but the Hopes of *Niger*'s Army began sensibly to sink and abate.

But some say *Niger* was betray'd by *Æmilian* from the beginning, and assign

two

two Reasons for this his Treachery: The first, That *Niger* was malign'd by *Æmilian* upon his Promotion to the Empire, in regard he had been his Successor in the Government of *Syria*, who was now to be his Lord and Sovereign. Others say, he was mov'd to it by the Prayers of his Children, beseeching him by Letters to have regard to their Safety. These Children were arrested in *Rome*, and then held in Custody by *Severus*, which was a very useful Project, and a piece of Policy that had been practis'd by *Commodus*, who us'd always to retain the Children of such Men as were sent to govern in distant Provinces, as Hostages for their Father's Loyalty. *Severus* knew this very well, and as soon as he was proclaim'd Emperor, while *Julian* was yet alive, he sent certain Persons to steal his Children out of *Rome*, to prevent their falling into other Hands; and as soon as he enter'd *Rome*, seiz'd upon all the Children of such Men as had Commands or were in Authority in the East, or in *Asia*, and at that time

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detain'd

detain'd them in Custody, hoping that the Ties of Nature would cancel those of Loyalty, and that their Tenderness to their Issue would make them Traitors to their Prince; or, in case they should persist in the Interests they had espous'd, he might have it in his Power to punish the Obstinacy of the Fathers, by his Cruelty to their Children.

After the Defeat at *Cyzicum*, *Niger*'s Soldiers fled in great haste, some to the Mountains of *Armenia*, others through *Asia* and *Galatia*, to the Mountain *Taurus*, to get within the Fortifications. *Severus*'s Army march'd through the Territory of *Cyzicum*, into *Bithynia*, and the adjacent Countries.

After the Report of *Severus*'s Victory was spread abroad, presently in these Parts Feuds and intestine Divisions broke out in divers Cities; not so much out of Hatred or Affection to either of the Parties engag'd in the War, as out of a Spirit of Envy, Animosity, and Contention, then very powerful amongst them. This was the old Distemper of the

Greeks,

Greeks, who were always torn into jar-ring Factions, and still levelling at that Head, that had arriv'd to any uncommon Eminency amongst them; and by this Means they utterly unhing'd and destroy'd the *Gracian* Government. And being thus inveterate and imbitter'd one against the other, they first lost their Liberty to the *Macedonians*, and afterwards became Vassals to the *Romans*. This Disease of Strife and Envy hath already seiz'd some of our most flourishing Cities. After the Battel of *Cyzicum*, the *Nicomediens* revolted to *Severus*, and sent an Embassie to him, to let him know, that they were ready to receive his Soldiers, and afford him what Assistance they could. The *Niceans*, out of an implacable Enmity to the *Nicomediens*, adher'd stiffly to the contrary Side, and receiv'd *Niger*'s Soldiers, as well such as fled thither, as those that were sent for the Defence of *Bithynia*: And soon after these Soldiers, sallying out of both these Cities, as if they had iss'd out of Regular Camps, began a

fierce Engagement, which was maintain'd on both Sides with great Vigour and Obstinacy; but at last Severus had manifestly the better, and such Soldiers of *Niger* as surviv'd the Battel, fled with great precipitation to the Streights of the *Taurus*, contenting themselves to be upon the Defensive, and to guard the Fortification. And *Niger* leaving such a Garrison as he thought sufficient for the defence of the Place, went to *Antioch*, to raise Recruits of Men and Supplies of Money.

Severus's Army marching through *Bitynia* and *Galatia*, came into *Cappadocia*, and sitting down before the Fortification, began to assaile it. Here he struggl'd with great Difficulties, the Way being narrow, and rugged; and besides, he was incommoded in his Ascent by Stones which were thrown down upon him, and by the gallant Resistance which the Defendants made from the Ramparts; for upon that Advantage of Ground, a few Men might easily repulse the Attacks of whole Battalions, the Way being narrow, and the one Side defended

by

by a high Mountain, and the other full of Water continually rolling from a vast Precipice. Besides, *Niger* had block'd up all the Avenues, and obstructed the Approaches of his Army on all Sides.

This was the Posture of Affairs in *Cappadocia*, when the Cities of *Tyre* and *Laodicea*, (the first in *Phoenicia*, the latter in *Syria*) fell desperately at variance with the People of *Antioch* and the *Berythians*, being urg'd forward by an invertebrate Rancour and Envy; insomuch that the two former, upon a settled Aversion to the latter, understanding that *Niger* was fled, defac'd all the Marks of Publick Honour that had been done him, and declar'd for *Severus*. *Niger* who was then in *Antioch*, being advertis'd of this Procedure, tho' at other Times a Man of incomparable Temper and Mildness, was highly exasperated, and sent immediately his *Moorish* Darters, with a Band of Archers, to the two Cities before-mention'd, with peremptory Orders to put all to the Sword, and to sack and burn the Towns.

These Moors are naturally cruel, and inur'd by frequent Use to despise the Encounters of Death and Danger; and now falling upon the *Laodiceans* before they apprehended any such Matter, made an entire Destruction of the City and People; and marching from thence to *Tyre*, burnt and plunder'd the Town, and made a great Slaughter of the Inhabitants.

While these Things were doing in *Syria*, and *Niger* was raising an Army, *Severus* had invested and was making his Attacks upon the Fortification, his Soldiers being very much disheartned, and despairing of Success, in regard the Fortification was not only very Strong, and almost impregnable of it self, but was also defended by a high Precipice. The Besieged, in the mean time, thinking themselves secure and out of danger: When suddenly in the Night there fell a prodigious Quantity of Rain and Snow, (for the Winters in *Cappadocia* are very severe, especially upon the *Taurus*) the Consequence whereof was a sudden

Torrent

Torrent of Water, which broke out with great Rage and Fury, which was encreas'd by the Fortifications, that check'd its Course, and made it still more violent and outragious; till at last Nature grew too powerful for Art, and the Cement being dissolv'd, the Walls were unable any longer to resist the Shocks of the raging Element, which easily forc'd it self a Passage, making a wide Breach for the Enemy to enter at; which was the more easily done, because the Fortification was Irregular, and thrown together without Care or Contrivance. As soon as the Besieg'd saw this, fearing lest they should be surrounded, and so made Prisoners by the Enemy, as soon as the Waters were fordable, they all abandon'd the Place, and shifted for themselves. This extraordinary Piece of Fortune put new Life into *Severus*'s Soldiers, and buoy'd them up into a Confidence, that all they acted was under the immediate Direction and Conduct of Heaven; and understanding that the Enemy had forsaken the Place

Place and were fled, they easily pass'd the Taurus, there being none to oppose them, and made an Impression into Cilicia.

Niger, upon Advice of what had hapned, levy'd a mighty Army, but without Experience, and undisciplin'd, and with hasty Marches advanc'd at the Head of this Multitude, which was very numerous, by reason the Youth of Antioch had almost universally listed themselves in his Service, and were ready to hazard all Things for him, and even equall'd the Illyrians in Forwardness and Disposition of Mind, but were by no Means comparable to them in Personal Bravery and Military Skill. Both the Armies met in a Place call'd *The Bay of Issicum*, which is a spacious Plain, bounded on all Sides with a Chain of Hills, in the Form of a Theater. The Shore along the Sea is stretch'd a great way up into the Continent, as if Nature in the first Contrivance had design'd it for a Scene of Action. Here, they say, the great decisive Battel was fought be-

tween

tween Alexander and Darius, wherein the latter was defeated and made Prisoner, and the Men of the East routed by those of the North. Here remains yet the City of Alexandria, situate upon the Eminence, and Alexander's Statue of Brass, as Monuments of this memorable Victory. And as the Place of the Battel was the same, so was the Event also. In the Evening the Armies were embattell'd one against the other, and spent that whole Night amidst the Agonies and Disquiets of a sollicitous Fear. In the Morning, as soon as the Sun rose, each General exhorted and animated his Soldiers, representing to them, That this was to be the decisive Battel, that upon the Issue hereof all their Hopes depended, that the Fortune of this Day would determine the Fate of the Empire. But in short, after they had fought a long time with great Courage and Resolution on both Sides, and great Numbers were slain, infomuch that the Rivers were not slightly tinctur'd, but seem'd to carry a greater quantity of Blood

Blood than Water, *Niger's* Soldiers turn'd their Backs, and fled in disorder. The *Illyrians* pursuing, drove some of them into the Sea; others they chas'd to the Tops of the Hills, where they kill'd them, together with great Numbers of Peasants that were drawn together out of the adjacent Cities and Villages, and had posted themselves there, as in a secure Place, from whence they might survey the Armies, and be Spectators of the Engagement.

Niger being mounted upon a swift Horse, fled with a small Party to *Antioch*; where he found a very melancholy Face of Affairs: That Remnant of the People which was left, were about to abandon the Place; nothing was to be heard but an universal Grief, Parents lamenting their Children, and Sisters their Brothers. Besides, *Niger* himself was in the utmost Despair and Confusion; in which Condition he fled from *Antioch*, and conceal'd himself in a Country-house not far from the City, where he was found by certain Horsemen that pursu'd him, and beheaded.

This

This was the Fate of *Niger*, which he drew upon himself by his Slowness and Inactivity; tho' otherwise his Deportment, both in his Publick and Private Capacities, was always spoken of with Honour.

Severus having thus dispatch'd *Niger*, cut off all his Friends and Adherents without Mercy or Distinction, not regarding whether they were such by Choice or Necessity. But those Soldiers that (he heard) had pass'd the *Tygris*, and were going over to the *Barbarians*, he endeavour'd to bring back by Promises of Pardon and Indemnity. However, great Numbers went over to them, which was the true Reason why they became more able from henceforward to combate with the *Romans* in a Set Battel; for formerly they never wore compleat Armor, seldom us'd Sword or Spear in the Fight, were lightly and loosely habited, and fought with Bows and Arrows on Horseback, and most commonly in their Flight, shooting back upon the Enemy that pursu'd them:

But

But now they were instructed by these *Roman* Refugees, amongst which were a great many Artizans, who chose to spend the Remainder of their Days amongst them, not only to use Arms, but also to make them.

Severus having settled his Affairs in the East as he thought most advisable in the present Conjunction, intended to have made a Descent upon *Parthia*, and the Territories of the *Atrenians*, both which he charg'd with the Supporting *Niger* against him: However he relin-
quish'd this Design for the present, and began in the first place to consider of Ways and Means to settle and entail the *Roman* Empire upon himself and his Family. *Niger* being remov'd, he thought *Albinus* was useless to him, and embras'd him in the Prosecution of his De-
signs; and he had heard that the Name of *Cæsar* had inspir'd him with proud and haughty Images, and that a great many of the most eminent Men in the Senate had secretly by Letter sollicited him to come to *Rome*, when *Severus* was
absent

absent and employ'd abroad. And, in truth, the whole Nobility favour'd him more than they did *Severus*, because he was sprung from Illustrious Ancestors, and had gain'd the Reputation of Gentleness and Temper. *Severus* had Intelligence of these things, but would not fall openly at variance with him, nor proclaim a War against him, being destitute of a Pre-
text to justify such a Proceeding; but resolv'd to attempt his Life by the se-
cret Ways of Fraud and Stratagem; and sent immediately certain Imperial Couriers, in whom he could repose the last Confidence, with secret Orders as soon as they should be brought into his Presence, to deliver the Letters to him in Publick, and withal to entreat him to withdraw with them, for that they had something to impart to him in private; and as soon as they had drawn him from his Guards, they should fall upon him suddenly, and dispatch him. He gave them also certain poysinous Drugs, and commanded them to try if his Cooks or Butlers could be engag'd in an At-
tempt

tempt to poison him. *Albinus* his Friends had already entertain'd a Jealousie of *Severus*, and advis'd him to beware of his Frauds and Stratagems. His unjustifiable Deportment towards *Niger*'s Captains, had cast a Blemish upon his Reputation; for having perswaded them, by means of their Children, as is before related, to betray their Master's Counsels, after he had abus'd their Service, and compass'd his Ends, he put them all to Death, both Fathers and Children; the various Folds and Windings of his Temper displaying themselves still in his Actions.

These Advices made *Albinus* encrease the Number of his Guards; and from this Time he would not suffer any Man that was sent to him from *Severus*, to approach his Person, unless he first put off his Sword, and was search'd, for fear he should conceal some secret Weapon under his Clothes.

As soon as the Couriers arriv'd at *Albinus*'s Court, they deliver'd their Letters to him in Publick, and, in pursu-

ance of their Orders, desir'd him to retire from the Company, because they had something to communicate to him in private. He presently suspected their Intention, and commanded them all to be apprehended, and upon Examination of the Matter, discover'd the whole Scheme and Course of the Design. The Couriers receiv'd condign Punishment. And now he prepar'd against *Severus*, as against a declar'd Enemy. *Severus* upon Advice of this Discovery, being naturally hot and violent, and apt to be transported with Anger, could not disguise his Thirst of Revenge; but calling his Army together, spoke to them to this purpose.

SEVERUS his SPEECH against ALBINUS.

Gentlemen,

ET no *Man*, when he reflects upon

my former Actions, accuse me of *L*e-
*p*ity, or of *Ingratitude* and *Treachery*, to
one whom I have treated as a *Friend*. I

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have punctually discharg'd all the Duties of Friendship on my part, even to the inviting him to a Partnership of my Empire, after I had establish'd it; which few Men are willing to share even with their own Brothers. That Power which you lodg'd solely in me, I was content to hold in common with him. And after all these signal Obligations laid upon him, consider, Gentlemen, what ungrateful Returns he makes. He levies an Armed Force against us, contemns the Fame of your Bravery, neglects the Ties of Faith and Justice with respect to me, and being push'd forward by wild Ambition, chooses rather to engross the whole Power with Toil and Hazard, than to enjoy his Share in Safety and Quiet; neither reverencing the Gods, by whom he has so oft and Solemnly sworn; nor sparing you, after you have fought and fatigu'd your selves with so much Courage and Reputation for our joint Interest: For he, as well as I, has a Share in the Honour and Benefit accruing from your Victories, which had been greater; had he not thus openly departed from the Principles of Faith and Honour. Now, Gentlemen, as it is

unjust to offer the first Injury, so it is beneath a Man of Honour to sit tamely under an Injury receiv'd, without requiring Satisfaction. The Reasons of our War upon Niger, were not so specious as they were necessary in that critical Juncture: He did not invade a Power whereof we were actually possess'd; but the Empire lying between us, and our Pretensions to it being the same, we both strove to gain it to our selves with an equally warrantable Ambition. But Albinus has broke through Oaths and Alliances; and tho' he has obtain'd by my free Gift, what other Persons only bestow on the Issue of their own Bodies, yet, after all, he chooses Hostility before Friendship, and the Name of an Enemy before that of an Acquaintance. How ought I then to resent this Behaviour? As I have heretofore studied to serve and honour him, so now I'll chastise his Perfidy and Cowardice with the Sword. His few undisciplin'd Men will not pretend to oppose the Force of your Arms: For, can any Man imagine that an Army that has reduc'd all the Kingdoms of the East, flush'd by a Course of so many Victories, and rein-

forc'd by almost the whole Power of the Roman Empire, will not easily vanquish a Band of Men commanded by a dissolute and a cowardly General? For who is a Stranger to the Fane of Albinus's Luxury, and his Way of Living, more resembling the Brutishness of a Hog, than the Life of a Soldier? In conclusion, let us advance against him with our wonted Alacrity and Courage, relying upon the Gods, whom he has offended by his Perjuries, and remembering the Trophies which we have so often rais'd, and he thinks fit to despise.

After he had spoke, his Soldiers unanimously declar'd *Albinus* an Enemy; and applauding *Severus*, express'd the Zeal of their Minds in the Alacrity of their Acclamations. This infus'd new Courage into *Severus*, and afforded him good Ground of Confidence. He dealt a magnificent Donative amongst his Soldiers, and then took his March against *Albinus*, having before detach'd a Party to reduce *Byzantium*. This Place was held by *Niger*'s Soldiers that fled thither,

thither, and was afterwards taken by Famine, and totally demolish'd, with all its Theaters, Baths, and all the Beauties and Ornaments of the City. It was reduc'd into the Form of a Village, and given to the *Perinthians*, as *Antioch* was to the *Laodiceans*. He also sent Money to rebuild the Cities which *Niger*'s Soldiers had destroy'd, while he march'd on with his Army without Intermission, equally regardless of the Celebration of Festivals, and the Toils of the March; of the most parching Heats, and the most rigorous Cold. He would often march bare over the highest Mountains, in the midst of Snow, in the coldest Season of the Year, to excite his Soldiers to Alacrity and Patience by his own Personal Deportment, that they might be mov'd to surmount all Difficulties, not so much by fear of Authority, as by an Ambition to imitate the Behaviour of their General. He sent out also a strong Body to possess the Streights of the *Alps*, and secure that important Inlet into *Italy*.

Albinus, who had resign'd himself over to Pleasure and Repose, was exceedingly alarm'd when he heard that *Severus* was ready to invade him ; and immediately leaving *Britain*, embarqu'd his Army for *Gaul*, where he encamp'd, and issu'd out Orders to the *Præfets* of the neighbouring Provinces to send in Contributions of Money, and other Provisions for his Army. Some obey'd the Orders, and their Compliance prov'd fatal to them afterwards. Others refus'd, rather by good Fortune, than upon any Politick Reasons, and hereby escap'd the Storm that ensu'd ; the Issue of the War discovering whose Conduct was the more advisable in this Affair.

After *Severus* had enter'd *Gaul* with his Army, several slight Skirmishes pass'd between them ; but the decisive Action was near *Lions*, a great and flourishing City, where *Albinus* had shut up himself, and sent out his Army to give *Severus* Battel. The Engagement lasted a long time, both Armies disputing the Point with great Obstinacy, without any

apparent

apparent Advantage to either. The *British* Soldiers were no way inferior to the *Illyrians* in Force or Courage, or Thirst of Blood ; so both being gallant Armies, it was no easie Matter to put either of them to the Rout. Tho' the Historians of that Age, that made a true Report of the Matter of Fact, without Favour or Partiality, do affirm, that *Albinus* had much the better of that Part of *Severus*'s Army where he commanded in Person ; insomuch that he fairly fled, and falling from his Horse, was forc'd to throw off his Imperial Cloke, and owe his Safety to a Disguise.

While the *Britains* were pursuing and triumphing over their Enemies, as if they had gain'd a compleat Victory, *Lætus*, *Severus*'s General, appear'd with a fresh Army ; for 'twas thought that he affected the Empire, and for that Reason commanded his Soldiers to march slowly, that he might preserve them in their full Strength and Vigour, till he saw what would be the Issue of

the Battel, not so much as offering to come up till he heard that *Severus* was slain : And it appear'd afterwards, that this was no ill-founded Suspicion, inasmuch as *Severus*, after he had put all Things in good Order, and establish'd the Peace and Quiet of his Empire, very nobly rewarded all his other Captains, but put *Lætus* to death ; having respect, as was thought, to the Treason intended this Day.

But these Things hapned long after. *Lætus* at this time appearing with so considerable a Reinforcement, retriev'd the declining Vigour of *Severus*'s Men. *Severus* re-mounted, and put on again his Imperial Cloke. *Albinus*'s Soldiers suppos'd they had intirely defeated the Enemy, and being in great disorder, were unable to sustain the Attacks of these fresh Forces, which fell upon them with incredible Fury, and after a short Resistance put them to a precipitate Flight. *Severus*'s Army pursu'd them, making a great Slaughter of them, even to the Gates of the City. The Number

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ber of those that were kill'd and taken on both Sides in this Engagement, is variously related by the Historians of those Times.

After the Victory, *Severus*'s Soldiers burnt and plunder'd *Lions*, and having taken *Albinus*, cut off his Head, and presented it to *Severus*.

Thus he erected two mighty Trophies, the one in the East, the other in the North ; and I doubt whether any Thing we meet with in Story will bear a Comparison with his Victories and Battels, whether you consider the Puissance of his Armies, the Commissions of Nations, the Number of his Engagements, or the Length and Swiftnes of his Marches. The Battels between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, between *Augustus* and *Antony*, or *Pompey*'s Sons, were great and memorable Actions ; as also were the Atchievements of *Sylla* and *Marius* in Civil and Foreign Wars : But for one Man to cut a Passage to the Empire through three Emperors actually invested in the Sovereign Dignity, to over.

overcome the *Prætorian* Soldiers by reach of Policy, to murther an Emperor in his own Palace, to vanquish another in the East, where he had sat at the Helm divers Years after he was proclaim'd in *Rome*; to make a third his Prisoner, that was in actual Possession of the Empire, is still more wonderful and extraordinary; and you'll scarce find any Thing upon Record that is able to parallel the Greatness of the Adventure, or the Course of prosperous Fortunes by which it was atchiev'd.

Thus fell *Albinus*, after he had enjoy'd his fatal Dignity for a short time; and *Severus* soon pour'd out the Fury of his Revenge upon his Adherents in *Rome*, and sent the Head of *Albinus* to be nail'd publickly upon a Gibbet. He sent also Letters giving an Account of his Victory, and adding by way of Postscript, *That he sent that Head to be fix'd upon a Gibbet, and expos'd to publick View, that it might be a Token of his displeasure, and signifie how highly he was enrag'd against them.* And having put all Things in order

order in *Britain*, he constituted two Governors to take care of that Island, and leaving the Affairs of *Gaul* in such a Posture as he thought most convenient, he put to death all those that had espous'd *Albinus*'s Interest, not regarding whether they had done it by Choice, or were determin'd to it by Necessity; and confiscating their Estates, he took his March for *Rome*, drawing with him his whole Army, that his Appearance might be the more terrible.

He perform'd his March with his usual Speed, and made his Entry into *Rome*, his Breast still glowing with a malignant Heat against the Remainder of *Albinus*'s Faction. The People bearing Branches of Laurel, receiv'd him with Acclamations of Joy, and all the Marks of Honour and Respect. The Senate too complemented him on this Occasion, tho' most of her Members expected nothing at his Hands but Death and Destruction. They knew the implacable Cruelty of his Nature, and upon what slight Occasions he would

would proceed to the most injurious Rigours, tho' now he had plausible Reasons to justifie his Indignation. *Severus* after he had paid a Visit to *Jupiter's Temples*, and perform'd the Sacrifices customary on the Occasion, retir'd to his Palace, threw a Largess amongst his Soldiers, and gave a Dole to the People on the Account of his Victory. To the first of these he granted divers Privileges, out of his meer Grace and Bounty, being such as they had never before enjoy'd ; he encreas'd their Allowances of Corn, authoriz'd them to wear Rings of Gold, and permitted Women to live with them. These Things were heretofore judg'd inconsistent with the Rules of Military Discipline, and that unincumber'd Freedom and Readiness for Action which is requir'd in a Soldier. He was the first that alter'd their course and wholesom Diet, the Consequence whereof was a sensible Decay of Force and Vigour, and utterly destroying the ancient Discipline and Authority of Generals. He

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engag'd them in dissolute Courses, and taught them to love Money.

After he had made these Alterations, he came into the Senate, and ascending the Imperial Throne, broke out into a vehement Impeachment of *Albinus's* Friends, some of whose secret Letters he produc'd and laid before them, which were those he found in *Albinus's* Cabinet ; others he upbraided with the curious Presents which they had made him ; others again he tax'd with the having favour'd the Eastern Faction : So that upon the whole Matter, he put to death all the most eminent Men in the Senate, with all such as were most considerable for Wealth or Family in the Provinces. He pretended to act in this Affair by the Dictates of Revenge, tho' the truth is, he was urg'd on by a more prevailing Passion, which he had for Money, to which none of the Emperors was ever so totally enslav'd : For as in Strength of Body, Vigour of Mind, and Conduct of Military Affairs, he equall'd the most renowned Generals ; so

so he was excessively covetous, insomuch that he sought Money by all, even the most unwarrantable Means, as by Injury, Oppression, Murther, &c. He was rather fear'd than belov'd by his Subjects, tho' it was the principal Study and Endeavour of his Life to be Popular: To this end he frequently exhibited Publick Shows, which were both various and magnificent: In these a hundred Wild Beasts were often slain at a time, which he procur'd from all Parts of the World. He made frequent and noble Largeesses to the People, and entertain'd them with Publick Games, wherein Wrestlers, Stage-players, &c. were drawn from all Parts to contend for the Prize: And I have seen in his Time Shews of all sorts represented in all the Theaters in *Rome*, with sacred Rites and Ceremonies solemniz'd after the manner of the Mysteries of *Ceres*. These were the *Ludi Seculares*, which are never renew'd till three Ages be compleat from the last Celebration; at which time Cryers go through *Rome* and

and *Italy*, to make Proclamation, that the People may come and behold what they had never seen before, nor could ever see again: Which is a plain Intimation, that the Distance of Time between the former and the ensuing Celebration, exceeds the utmost Limits of humane Age.

Having staid some time at *Rome*, he assum'd his Sons into a Partnership of the Empire; and being willing that some Foreign Achievements should contribute to the Glory of his Arms, which had hitherto been employ'd in a Civil War, from whence he declin'd an Occasion of Triumph, he led his Army into the East, giving out, that the Cause of this Invasion was to punish *Barsemus* the King of the *Atrenians*, for sending Succours to *Niger*, to be made use of against him: And being on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, he was about to ravage that Country; but was prevented by the King of the Place, who voluntarily sent Hostages, with Money, and other rich Presents to him, and entreated him to establish

establish a Friendship and good Understanding between them. *Severus* finding all Things succeed according to his Wishes in *Armenia*, bent his Course towards the Country of the *Atrenians*; and here his Strength was encreas'd by the Repair of *Augarus* King of the *Osrhoeni*, who deliver'd up his Children by way of Hostage for their Father's Fidelity, and joyn'd him with a considerable Force of Archers.

Severus crossing *Mesopotamia*, and the Country of the *Adiabeni*, over-ran *Arabia* call'd *the Happy*, by reason of the Fertility of the Soil, which produces in great Abundance those sweet Herbs which we use in our Perfumes. He pillag'd a great many Cities and Villages, and wasting all the Country, march'd forward into the Territories of the *Atrenians*, and sat down before *Atra*. This City is founded upon the Eminence of a Rock, and fortifi'd with a high and regular Wall. The Garrison was numerous and brave, and consisted for the most part of Archers. This City

Severus

Severus invested with his whole Army, and assai'l'd it with his utmost Fury; Engines of War of all sorts were drawn to the Wall, and nothing omitted that is of importance in the Storming of Towns. The *Atrenians* made a brave Defence, and throwing Stones and shooting Arrows at the Assailants, extremely incommoded *Severus* his Army. They fill'd also Earthen Vessels with small winged Insects and other venomous Creatures, and threw them upon the Enemy; these fastning upon their Eyes, or any other Part that was naked, and secretly crawling up and down, extremely gall'd and wounded them. They could not bear the Heat of the Climate, the Air was too soultry, and the Sun burnt them excessively, and threw them into divers and desperate Maladies, insomuch that *Severus* lost more Men by these Casualties, than by the Sword of his Enemies.

Severus seeing his Soldiers disheartned and tir'd with the Siege, which was carried on with more Loss than Advan-

tage to the Besiegers, took care to draw off his Army before it was totally destroy'd, without effecting what he purposed. The Issue of this Attempt coming so far short of his Expectations, gave him great Regrets. Not to vanquish, was in effect to be vanquish'd, to him who had always been accustom'd to Victory. But a prosperous Gale of Fortune, which soon after hapned, easily blew this Damp off his Spirits, and made this Expedition so far from being fruitless, that it crown'd it with greater Successes than he at first expected; for putting to Sea with his whole Army, composing a strong Naval Force, he was driven from the *Roman*, and forc'd in a rough Sea upon the Coast of *Parthia*, but a few Days Journey from *Ctesiphon*, where the King keeps his Court: At this time he liv'd in perfect Tranquillity, undisturb'd by War, or the fears of it, not imagining that *Severus's* Expedition against the *Atreni* did any ways concern him, nor apprehending any Attempt

tempt to be made upon him in this Juncture. But *Severus* being thus driven by Stress of Weather upon his Coasts, landed his Men, and ravag'd the Country, carrying off all the Cattel he met with, that he might be secure of Provisions; and burning the Villages that fell in his way, he advanc'd into the Country, till he reach'd the City *Ctesiphon*, where the great *Artabanus* held his Residence, and falling by surprize upon the Barbarous People, who were unprepar'd, kill'd all the Men they found, and made the Women and Children Prisoners, the King only escaping, with a few Horsemen. But the *Romans* possess'd themselves of his Treasure, and Royal Furniture and Ornaments, and return'd with them to their Ships. Thus *Severus* atchiev'd his *Parthian* Victory, rather by good Fortune than Conduct.

This Enterprize being thus fortunately accomplish'd, he immediately dispatch'd an Express to *Rome*, giving an Account of his Success, and magnifying

the Exploit. He set up also publick Pageants, wherein his Engagements and Victories were represented. The Senate upon this Occasion decreed him all the Honours imaginable, and gave him Surnames from the Nations which he had conquer'd.

Severus, after he had settled his Affairs in the East, hastned to *Rome*, bringing along with him his Sons, who were now good big Youths; and having put the Affairs of the Provinces in a right Course, and review'd the *Myrian* and *Pannonian* Forces, he enter'd *Rome* in Triumph, being receiv'd by the People with loud Acclamations, and the highest Testimonies of Honour and Respect. After his Entrance, and some Time spent in sacrificing and celebrating Festivals, and exhibiting publick Shews and Games, he distributed a magnificent Donative among the People, and made certain Publick Entertainments on the particular Account of his Victories. After this he staid a great many Years at *Rome*, administering Justice, and ap-

plying

plying himself wholly to the Care of the Civil Government, and the institution of his Children in Virtue and Good Manners: But they were vigorous and young, and falling in with the Humour of the Town in their delicate and refin'd Way of Living, and pursuing with too great eagerness the Diversions of Balls, Plays, Chariot-driving, &c. were early debauch'd. The Brothers began to jar and interfere, first out of a Childish Humour or Ambition, at Quail-fights, Cock-fights, or the Wrestlings of Boys, where they would frequently wrangle and fall out. If any thing was spoke or represented upon the Stage, they always varied in Opinion, and never favour'd the same Actor; but whatever pleas'd one, infallibly distasted the other. Their Flatterers and Ministers made it their Business to cherish and foment these Quarrels, saying any thing that would please the young Princes at that Age, and give them Credit and Interest with them. *Severus* being inform'd of these Things,

employ'd his utmost Endeavours to accommodate all Differences between them, and to make them Friends. His eldest Son (whose Name was *Bassian*, afterwards chang'd into *Antonine*, *Marcus*'s Surname, upon his Alliance to the Imperial Line) he marry'd, upon a Nation that it would tame him, to a Daughter of *Plautian*'s, who was Captain of the *Prætorian* Band. This *Plautian*, they say, was originally of a mean Fortune, and had in his Youth been convicted of Seditious Practices, and divers other Misdemeanours, for which he was banish'd; nevertheless, being by Nation an *African*, and Fellow-Citizen, and, as some say, a Relation to *Severus*, (tho' others tax him with the having prostituted his Body to him in the Flow'r of his Age) *Severus* from a low and mean Condition, promoted him to great Wealth and Honour, conferring upon him the Estates of such Persons as were put to Death, sharing every thing with him except his Empire: But he abus'd this Power and Dignity, not

abstaining from the highest Acts of Oppression and Violence, in the advancing his own Interests or Designs, out-doing all the Princes that went before him in Barbarity and Cruelty. With his Daughter *Severus* match'd his Son, by this Alliance uniting the two Families.

Antoninus was very much dissatisfied with the Match, which was made up rather by Concert amongst Friends, than by Consent of Parties, and conceiv'd a mortal Aversion both to the Lady and her Father; insomuch that he would neither lie in the same Bed, nor live in the same House with her; but thunder'd out repeated Menaces against them both, which he threatened to execute as soon as he should get the Sovereign Power into his Hands. The Lady told all these Things to her Father, remonstrating to him how implacable his Hatred was against her, which put the old Man into a mighty Rage; who seeing that *Severus* was old, and weakned by a long Indisposition, and knowing the natural Fierceness and Impetuosity of *Antoninus*,

began to fear lest he should some Day fulfil his Threats: Whereupon he resolv'd to be beforehand with him, esteeming it better to be upon the offensive, than tamely to expect the Accomplishment of these Menaces. He had a great many Motives to spur on his Ambition to an Affectation of the Empire: His Estate was greater than ever any Private Man posses'd, the Soldiery was entirely at his Beck, the whole *Roman* People paid a singular Honour and Deference to him; he always appear'd in the Senatorian Robes, embroider'd with large Studs of Gold, and was always rank'd with Men of principal Note, and such as had been twice Consuls: When he came abroad, he was attended with all the Circumstances that might encrease the Terror or Grandeur of his Appearance; he had a Sword by his Side, with all the Ensigns of Sovereign Dignity: No Man was suffer'd to approach his Person; and if any encounter'd him by accident, he was oblig'd to retire. Certain Gentlemen

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of his Retinue always march'd before him to make Proclamation, that no Man should presume to draw near, or look upon him, but that they should all turn out of the Way, and fix their Eyes on the Ground.

Plautian by this Deportment incur'd the high Displeasure of *Severus*, and became odious and insupportable to him; insomuch that he retrench'd his Authority, and exhorted him to abate something of his Pride and Arrogance: Which incens'd him to that Degree, that he resolv'd to attempt the Empire by Policy and Intrigue; and in order to it, form'd this Design: There was a certain Tribune of *Plautian*'s, by Name *Saturninus*, who had abandon'd himself to an implicit Obedience to the Will and Pleasure of his General, which in truth all the rest had done as well as he; yet he by a shew of an extraordinary Veneration for him above the rest, had insinuated himself the most intimately into his Affections. This Man he thought the most fit to be trusted with, and the most

most proper to execute his secret Orders, and commanded him to attend him in the Evening, after all other Persons were withdrawn; and when he was come, told him, *That this was the Time for him to give the last Proof of his Zeal and Devotion to his Interest, and for him to make a Requital proportionable to so great a Merit; That it was in his Choice whether he would succeed him in the Post he was now in, and be such a Man as he saw he was at that time, or die instantly, and receive the Rewards of his Contumacy and Disobedience; That he ought not to be stagger'd with the Greatness of the Enterprize, or startle at the Name of Emperor, in regard of the free Entrance which he should have alone into the Imperial Bed-chamber, when his Turn should come to be upon the Night-Guard, at which time he might easily effect what he propos'd to him, without Opposition or Discovery; That he should not expect any further Orders from him, but should go immediately to the Imperial Palace, as if he brought Advices of Importance and Secrecie from Plautian, and so should fall upon the Old Man*

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and his Son, and kill them; adding, That the Matter was very feasible to a Man that would acquit himself with Bravery; and assuring him, That as he had a Share in the Hazard, so he should also have in the Honour and Dignity to which this Enterprize would make way.

The Tribune was infinitely surpriz'd with the Proposal, but not so much as to lose his Understanding in that Juncture; but, like a Man that had his Senses about him, (for he was a Syrian, and 'tis observ'd that the Eastern Countries produce generally very clear Heads) considering the Violence of his Rage, together with the Extent of his Power, thought not fit to oppose him in any Circumstance of what he open'd to him, for fear of being sacrific'd instantly to his Displeasure; but hearing the whole Propos'd with seeming Joy and Rapture, as if he was ambitious to be an Instrument in the Execution, and adoring him as if he had been already Emperor, desir'd of him a Copy of his Commission; for 'tis the Custom of Tyrants,

Tyrants, when they command any Man to be cut off without Legal Process, to give their Orders in Writing, that some Footsteps might remain of the Authority by which the Party was put to Death. *Plautian*, blinded with Ambition, gave him a Commission under his Hand, and dispatch'd him away instantly to execute it, strictly charging him to send for him as soon as the Business was done, and before it was nois'd abroad, that he might appear in the Palace before it was known that he had invaded the Empire. Matters being thus concerted between them, the Tribune left him, and walk'd through all the Rooms of the Palace, as he us'd to do, without Controul: But considering that it was absolutely impracticable for one Man to assassinate two Emperors that were lodg'd in different Apartments, he went directly to *Severus*, and calling to the Guards of the Imperial Bed-chamber, desir'd Admittance to the Emperor's Presence, in regard he had something to impart to him that nearly concern'd

cern'd the Safety of his Person. They immediately inform'd the Emperor hereof, and by his Command the Tribune was brought before him: After he was introduc'd, addressing himself to *Severus*, he accosted him with this surprizing Relation. *May it please your Majesty, I don't come here as a Traitor to assassinate your Person, as he that sent me imagines; but according to my own Hopes and Desires, to be your Preserver and Deliverer.* *Plautian seeking by Intrigue and Policy to gain the Empire, has Commission'd me to murder you and your Son, and that not only by Word of Mouth; but by Warrant in Writing;* [Then he laid the Commission before them,] *which I readily undertook, lest if I should decline it, he might meet with some other Person forward enough to engage in the Enterprize; and now I am here ready to make Discovery of what I know, and to bring to light his Secret Designs.* This he spoke with Tears in his Eyes, and a mighty appearance of Concern: Nevertheless, *Severus* gave but slow Credit to him, he lov'd *Plautian*

tian most passionately, and suspected Forgery and Subornation in the whole Business ; he fansied his Son, out of an inveterate Malice to *Plautian* and his Daughter, had invented this artful Calumny to take away his Life ; and sending for him, charg'd him home with it, reproving him most severely for these unwarrantable Practices against the Life of his Friend and Domestick. *Antoninus* at first protested he was ignorant of the whole Matter ; but when the Tribune press'd his Depositions, shewing forth his Commission, *Antoninus* spurr'd him on, and animated him to impeach him of the Fact, and be Evidence against him. And the Tribune seeing into what imminent Danger he had brought himself, and fearing the overweening Kindness of *Severus* to *Plautian*, and being satisfied if the Plot was not fairly discover'd, and the Criminal convicted, that he should undergo the most exquisite Torments, said to them, *I beseech you, my Lords, what clearer Proof or stronger Evidence can you desire?* Per-

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mit me only to go out of the Palace, and by some trusty Friend of mine let him know that the Business he gave me in Charge is accomplish'd, and he will speedily be here, expecting to find the Palace abandon'd ; and then you your selves may judge of the Truth of what I have depos'd. Only command Silence in the Palace, for fear he should have Intelligence of what has pass'd, and so defeat the Design.

All this being agreed to, he sent a particular Friend of his to *Plautian*, to tell him, That he should make all the haste he could ; that both the Emperors were dispatch'd ; that it would behove him to be in the Palace before the Thing had taken Air ; that having made himself Master of the Citadel, and establish'd his Empire, he might constrain the People to render Obedience to him, as to an actual Sovereign. *Plautian* easily believ'd all this, and full of Hope, in the Evening put on a Coat of Mail for the Defence of his Body, and throwing his other Robes over it, drove with all speed to the Palace, accompanied only by a few Servants, who fansied he went

went upon a Summons from Court, about Affairs of Importance.

He enter'd the Palace without any Difficulty, the Guards knowing nothing of what had hapned. Here the Tribune met him, and designing to trepan him, accosted him by the Title of *Empero*r; and taking him familiarly by the Hand, told him he would conduct him into the Chamber where the dead Bodies of the Emperors were bestow'd. Here *Severus* had order'd certain of his Guards to stand ready to lay Hands upon him, as soon as he should come in. So *Plautian*, to his unexpressible disappointment, saw both the Emperors standing in the Room; and being seiz'd upon by the Guards, and infinitely astonish'd with the Encounter, began to beg and entreat, and to vindicate himself, protesting, *That it was all a Lye, a meer Forgery and Contrivance devis'd against him.* *Severus* upbraided him with his good Offices, and the Honours he had conferr'd upon him. *Plautian*, on the other Hand, reminded him of his Faith,

Loyalty,

Loyalty, and the good Services he had render'd him; till at length *Severus* inclin'd to credit what he said, until an unlucky Rent in his Garment discover'd the Coat of Mail that was under it: Whereupon *Antonine*, a fiery audacious Youth, and naturally very inveterate against the Man, demanded of him what Answer he would give to these two Points, *Why he came to Court at that Time without Orders*; and, *What was the meaning of that Coat of Mail.* Is it usual, says he, for any Man to come armed to a Collation? At which Words he commanded the Tribune, and the other Soldiers that were present, instantly to draw their Swords, and cut him in Pieces for an avow'd Enemy. They presently obey'd his Orders, and killing him, flung out his dead Body into the publick Street, there to lie open to the View of all Men, and expos'd to the Indignities of those that hated him. Thus the ambitious *Plautian* ran his Period, being betray'd by him who made the greatest Professions of Friendship and Devotion to him.

O

Severus

Severus from henceforth created two Captains of the *Prætorian* Band, and spent the Remainder of his Days for the most part in his Country Houses that were near the City, or on the Sea-Coasts of *Campania*, distributing Justice, and regulating the Affairs of State. He was extremely desirous that his Children should have the Benefit of a vertuous Education. He saw they pur-su'd the vain Amusements of Shews and Games, with greater Eagerness than was suitable to their Character. He saw too, that about these they constantly thwarted and oppos'd one another with great Zeal and Warmth, which bred ill Blood amongst them, and afforded Incentives to Fewds and Animosities : Especially *Antonine* became insupportable after *Plautian* was remov'd, (tho' the Reverence of his Father restrain'd him from Actions that were of a very flagitious Nature) he endeavour'd to kill his Wife, and left nothing unattempted to effect it : Whereupon *Severus* sent her away with her Brother into *Sicily*, and allow'd

allow'd them a large and honourable Maintenance ; imitating herein *Augustus*, who took the same Course with *Anthony's* Sons after he was declar'd an Enemy.

Severus endeavour'd as much as in him lay to compose all these Quarrels, and to create a Friendship and good Understanding between them ; and in order to this, frequently put them in mind of the old Tragedies and Fables, wherein private Animosities between Brothers jointly invested in Supreme Power, were generally the Source of all their Miseries ; and represented to them, that the Exchequer and Temples were very full of Money ; that no Foreign Potentate would have Force or Treasure enough to attack them from without ; that their Funds at home would abundantly supply them with Donatives to distribute amongst the Soldiers, as often and in what Quantities they pleas'd ; that the *Prætorian* Band was four times as strong as it was at his Accession to the Empire ;

that the Army that was posted before the City, was of that Strength, that no Foreign Force was equal or comparable to it, whether you consider the Plenty of Money, or the Strength, Stature, or Number of Men; remonstrating to them upon the whole Matter, that all this would signify nothing, as long as there were Civil Feuds and Intestine Divisions among them. These Admonitions he often repeated, sometimes mildly entreating, at other times as sharply rebuking them, leaving no way unessay'd to allay these unnatural Heats, and make a firm and sincere Reconciliation between them. But they, regardless of all his Counsels, liv'd in open defiance of him and his Authority, making still more desperate Advances in Sin and Vice; the Heat and Fire of Youth, the Licentiousness of Princes, the fairest Opportunities, and the most powerful Incentives to Pleasure, all concurring to push them forward to the greatest Extravagancies. Besides these, they were led by Buffoons and Sycophants, who by inveagling Arts endeavour'd

vour'd to allure and win them to themselves, not stopping at a servile Compliance with their most dishonest Actions or Appetites, but still inventing something in favour of the Prince they follow'd, which could not delight him more than it regretted his Brother. Severus took some of these Men, and punish'd them severely for these servile Compliances.

While Severus was thus concern'd for the lewd Courses of his Sons, and that indecent Application with which they had follow'd Plays and Games, the Governor of Britain noifid to him by Letter, *That the Britains were in open Rebellion, that they had ravag'd and laid waste the Country, that he must either send him a strong Reinforcement, or come in Person to reduce the Place.* These Advices were very agreeable to Severus, who was naturally very desirous of Glory, but had a peculiar Ambition to crown his Victories in the East and North, and his Titles of Honour merited by his Successes in those Parts, by erecting new

Trophies in Britain. This Expedition also offer'd him an Occasion which he extremely wish'd for, of drawing his Sons from *Rome*, that being remov'd from the Luxury and Gaieties of the Town, and making a Campaign in *Britain*, they might be accustom'd in their Youth to a temperate Course of Life, as that which is most proper for a Soldier. Soon after he caus'd Proclamation to be made of his design'd Expedition into *Britain*. He was old, and much afflicted with the Gout; but the Faculties of his Mind were active and vigorous, far excelling all the Young Men. He travell'd for the most part in a Calash, making no considerable Halts in his March; and having reach'd the End of his Journey by Land, he cross'd the Seas sooner than he could have expected, and landed his Men in *Britain*, and appointing a general Rendezvous for his Forces, drew together a formidable Army, and made all necessary Preparations for the War.

The *Britains* were exceedingly alarm'd at the sudden Arrival of *Severus*; and understanding what a mighty Power was rais'd against them, they immedately sent Ambassadors to make Overtures of Peace, and to excuse their late Miscarriages: But *Severus* was inflexible; he was ambitious of a Victory over the *Britains*, and enflam'd with the Surname of *Britannicus*, and was loth to return to *Rome* without atchieving the one, and deserving the other: So he contriv'd Delays and Difficulties, to gain Time, and detain the Ambassadors in suspense; but dismiss'd them at length, after a final Rejection of their Proposals, and put all things in posture and readiness for a Battel. It was his principal Care to build Bridges over the Morasses, that his Men might run over them with ease, and fight upon a solid Bottom. Of these there are great Numbers in this Island, covering vast Extents of Land, occasion'd by the frequent Inundations of the Sea. The Natives often swim or wade into them up to the Waste, in

Water and Mud, which they don't regard, the greatest part of their Bodies being naked. They are not acquainted with the Use of Clothes, but wear Iron about their Necks and Waists, which they esteem an Ornament, and a Sign of Riches, as the other Barbarous Nations do Gold. They paint their Bodies with an agreeable Variety, drawing upon them all Sorts of Creatures; which is the Reason they wear no Clothes, their Vanity not permitting them to draw a Veil over so much Beauty. They are a very warlike and a bloody People. Their Arms are only a narrow Shield and a Lance, with a Sword that hangs at their naked Side. They know nothing of the Use of a Breast-plate or Helmet, looking upon them as an useles Luggage, which would only hinder them in passing the Bogs, out of which continually ascend thick Vapors, by reason whereof the Face of the Heavens seems always overcast.

Severus in this Interval made Provision of such Things as would the most annoy

annoy the Enemy, and be of the greatest Use to his own Men. And now all Things seeming in good State and Condition for the War, he left *Geta* to administer Justice in that part of the Island which was not revolted, and to make such Regulations as the Civil Government should require, appointing him a Council compos'd of the most aged, and the most experienc'd of his Friends: And taking *Antonine* along with him, he advanced against the Rebels; and having pass'd his Army over the Rivers and Fortifications which divided the *Roman* Frontier from that of the Enemy, there hapned divers Rencounters between them, wherein the *Britains* always had the worse; but having the advantage of being thoroughly acquainted with the Country, they could retreat at pleasure out of Danger, into the Fastnesses of the Woods and Bogs; all which being against the *Romans*, retarded the Prosecution of the War.

About this time *Severus* being arriv'd to a great Age, was seiz'd with a lingring

ring Illness, which constrain'd him to stay at home ; by which means the Character of *General* devolv'd upon *Antonine*, whom his Father sent to prosecute the War : But he being not very sollicitous how Matters were carry'd on against the Rebels, us'd his utmost Endeavours to ingratiate with the Soldiery, and to exclude all others from any Share in their Affections and Esteem, affecting immoderately to be sole Monarch. In order hereto, he loaded his Brother with Calumnies and Reproaches : But the long Indisposition of his Father, and the slow Approaches of Death, afflicted the Spirit of the Young Man, insomuch that at length he grew impatient, and fell to Practices with his Servants and Physicians to shorten his Life ; till at last *Severus* dy'd, rather through Anguish of Mind, than Indisposition of Body, after he had run a glorious Course, far transcending all his Predecessors in the Glory of Military Achievements, none of which were Victorious in so many and so great

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Engagements both in Civil and Foreign Wars. He reigned Eighteen Years, and was succeeded by his own Sons. He left behind a greater Treasure than ever any Prince did before him, with an Army of that Puissance, that no Force was able to encounter it.

Antonine had no sooner got the Supreme Power into his Hands, upon his Father's Decease, but he began a most bloody Massacre, putting to Death all the Physicians that refus'd to comply with the Proposal he made to them of taking off his Father, as also all those Persons that had the Conduct of his own and his Brother's Education, because they earnestly endeavour'd to mediate a Reconciliation between them. Nor did any of those Ministers weather this Storm, whom his Father in his Life-time had honour'd with his Esteem and Confidence. The Chief Officers in the Army he endeavour'd to engage in his Interests by great Gifts and greater Promises, to the end they should influence the Army to declare him sole Emperor,

Emperor, setting a-foot all manner of Practices to destroy his Brother. But he could not over-rule the Soldiers in this Point ; they remembred how equally *Severus* had deputed himself towards his Sons, while he was alive, keeping them both upon a Level in the whole Course of their Education, and therefore thought themselves oblig'd to render an equal Loyalty and Deference to them both.

Antonine finding that his Project did not take in the Army, concluded a Peace, and taking Hostages for the Observance of it, left the Enemies Country, and advanc'd with all speed towards his Mother and Brother. After they came to an Interview, their Mother employ'd her utmost Efforts to reconcile them ; all the Men of most eminent Dignity, and such as had been of his Father's Council, joining with her in an Endeavour so important to the Publick Quiet. So *Antonine* seeing all things conspire to thwart the Bent of his Humour, agreed at last, rather by Necessity than Choice,

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to the outward Forms of a Reconciliation, tho' there was little Sincerity at the bottom. After this they administer'd the Government jointly ; and parting from *Britain*, set Sail for *Rome*, and carry'd along with them their Father's Ashes, which, mix'd with Perfumes, they put into an Urn of Alabaster, and convey'd to *Rome*, that it might be plac'd amongst the Sacred Monuments of the *Roman* Emperors. And embarking their Army as Conquerors of *Britain*, cross'd the Sea, and arriv'd in *Gaul*. Thus we have given Account in this Book, how *Severus* dy'd, and how his Sons succeeded him in the Empire:

AN
E P I T O M E
O F T H E
Fourth Book.

SEVERUS his Ashes are brought from Britain to Rome, where they are buried, and he is Deified. Antonine and Geta undertake the Government, and fall into such Quarrels and Jealousies, that they were once about dividing the Empire, and stating the Limits of their Territories, had not Julia dissuaded them. But after a while, their Animosities flaming more and more; Antonine kills Geta upon the Breast of his Mother, and flies to the Camp, where the Soldiers, corrupted by a Largess, declare him sole Emperor. He exercises great Cruelties towards the People and Senate: Afterwards he makes

several

several Progresses, one to the Banks of the Ister, where he follows the Fashions of the Germans; a second into Macedonia, where he personates Alexander; and a third into Asia, where he imitates Achilles. Then going to Alexandria, by a singular Instance of Treachery and Barbarity, he cuts to Pieces all the Citizens; and afterwards entring Parthia, under colour of a Marriage to be solemniz'd there, surprizes the Parthians, and breaking the League, makes a great Slaughter of them, the King escaping with great Difficulty. At last he is assassinated by a Soldier, whose Brother he had put to Death, at Carræ in Mesopotamia; and his Ashes are sent to Antioch to his Mother Julia. Then Macrinus is chosen Emperor, and gives Battel to Artabanus King of Parthia, which continues for three whole Days, neither Side obtaining any Victory. Afterwards he makes a League with him, and the Parthian returns home, and he marches with his Forces to Antioch.

The

The Fourth Book.

What *Severus* did in those Eighteen Years in which he was Emperor, is related in the foregoing Book. His Sons, who were now young Men, shaftned to *Rome* with their Mother; but there arose such Bickerings and Quarrels between them upon the Road, that they would neither eat at the same Table, nor lodge in the same Apartment; and so powerful was the Spirit of Jealousie, that they apprehended Poison in all their Meats and Drinks, either from the Hands of one another, or from Servants corrupted to that purpose: For which Reason they made the more haste to *Rome*, where they expected to live in greater Security, by reason of the Largeness of the Palace, which consisted of a vast Range of stately Buildings, exceeding the rest of the City in its Extent. This being divided between them, they thought they might

hold

hold their Courts asunder, and live at Pleasure.

When they arriv'd at *Rome*, the People receiv'd them with the Solemnity of carrying Branches of Laurel, the Senate complimented them in full Body, and at the Head of this glorious Train they march'd in their Robes of Purple: The Consuls follow'd, bearing the Urn wherein the Ashes of *Severus* were laid; and complimenting the new Emperors, pass'd by them, and worshipp'd the Urn, which, attended with all the Pomp and Ceremony imaginable, was by them plac'd in the Temple, where the Sacred Monuments of *Marcus* and his Predecessors are to be seen.

After the young Emperors had perform'd the Sacrifices customary upon the Accession of new Princes to the Empire, they retir'd to the Palace, which was divided into distinct Courts, and with mighty Caution shut up all the By-ways and Passages, suffering only the great Court-gates to be made use of in common. Each of them had his re-

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spective

spective Life guard, and rarely came together, unless it was for a short time, when they appear'd in Publick. Their first Care was to pay the Honours due to their deceas'd Father ; it being a Custom amongst the *Romans* to deifie those Emperors that die in the Life of their Sons and Successors. This Honour they term an *Apotheosis*. During the Solemni-ty there is a various Face of Things, re-sulting from a Combination of Joy and Sorrow in the City : For the dead Body of the Emperor is interr'd with great magnificence, according to the Funeral Rites here on Earth. His Effigies, wrought in Wax, as like the Original as the most exquisite Art can make it, is laid upon a high and stately Couch of Ivory, plac'd before the Entrance of the Palace, and cover'd with Cloth of Gold. The Effigies looks pale, and has the ghastly Air of a sick Person. On the left Side stand all the Senators in Mourning ; on the right, Matrons of the most eminent Quality by Birth or Marriage, divested of their Neck-laces, Jewels, and

all

all the Gaieties of Dres, and attir'd in narrow white *Manteaus*, appearing like so many Mourners. This Ceremo-ny is repeated for seven Days successively. The Doctors come in every Day, and approaching the Couch of State, view the Patient, and make the Report still that the Malady encreases. When it is given out that he is dead, certain Gen-tlemen and Noblemen of *Rome* are cho-sen out of the most Illustrious Families, to support the Couch ; these carry it along the Sacred Way with solemn Pace, till they bring it into the Old *Forum*, where the Magistrates of *Rome* take their Oaths, upon quitting their Offices. Here are Steps rais'd on both Sides in the Form of Stairs ; on the one Side stands a *Chorus* of Noble Patrician Youths, op-posite to these are Ladies of Condition, both which sing in honour of the Dead Hymns and Songs set to doleful and majestick Airs, which are favour'd by the Cadence of the Verse. After this, they take up the Couch again, and car-ry it out of the City, into the middle of

the *Campus Martius*, where there was a Pile erected of Quadrangular Figure, all the Sides being equal ; and the Materials only vast Pieces of Timber, fastned together into the Form of an House. The Inside is fill'd with dry combustible Matter ; the Outside is adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, Statues of Ivory, and curious Painting. Below this stood another, exactly of the same Model, and beautified as the former, with its Gates open ; and so a third, and a fourth ; every one being somewhat less than that which is next above it ; and so on till you came to the last, which is the lowest of all. The Model of these Piles was not unlike the Towers that are built over Harbours, to direct Mariners by Lights set out, where they may put in and lie securely. The Couch was plac'd upon the second Pile, after which sweet Gums and all sorts of Perfumes, with Fruits and Flowers of the most fragrant Scent, were heap'd upon it in great abundance : For there is no Nation, City, nor Private Person of any

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considerable Quality or Note, but is very zealous upon this Occasion to testify his Respect to his Prince by these last Presents. After the Place was fill'd with these Spices and Gums pil'd up to a vast Height, all the Gentlemen of *Rome*, gallantly mounted, pranc'd and curvetted about the Pile in a kind of Figure and Order, according to the Measures of the *Pyrrhick* Dance. The Chariots also went the same Round, observing the like Decorum and Order. The Charioteers, clad in Purple Robes, represented the Persons of the greatest Generals and Emperors of *Rome*. Then he that is to succeed in the Empire, takes a Flambeau, and puts it to the Pile ; after which the Multitude set Fire to it on all Sides, and in an instant the whole is in a bright Flame, by reason of the infinite Quantity of Spices, Gums, and other combustible Matter : And immediately after, from the lowest and least Pile, as from a Turret, an Eagle is let go, and towring with the Flame, takes his Flight towards Heaven, carrying along with

P 3

him,

him, as the *Romans* perswade themselves, the Soul of the Deified Emperor; and from this time they pay Adoration to him, as to one of their Gods.

As soon as the *Apotheosis* was finish'd, the young Emperors return'd to the Palace, and from that time were perpetually clashing and jarring, and managing Practices one against the other. Each sought by all Means to destroy his Colleague, and lodge the Supreme Power solely in himself: The People also that bore any Dignity or Employment in the City, were torn into different Factions; both the Emperors by secret Sollicitations and Promises seeking to draw them to their separate Interests. But *Geta's* Party was far the stronger; he discover'd at least a Dawn and Semblance of Honour and Vertue, was courteous and affable to all that came to him; his Studies were generous, he entertain'd and encourag'd Learned Men, pursu'd Wrestling and other Gentleman-like Diversions; and his Conversation was always extremely easie and agreeable:

By

By these Means he became Popular, his Reputation and good Fame gaining him the Love and Esteem of the People. On the other Hand, *Antonine* was rough and violent in his whole Deportment, utterly averse to all the aforesaid Qualities, a pretended Admirer of a Military Life, and the Hardships of a Campagne. He did every thing in Wrath, more by Menaces than Perswasions, rather affrighting than allureing Men to his Friendship.

The Mother had long endeavour'd to reconcile her two Sons, that were thus constantly interfering even about the most trivial Matters: But all her Efforts prov'd ineffectual. They had once determin'd to make Partition of the Empire, to the End they might be less expos'd to the Attempts of one another, than when both liv'd in *Rome*: And assembling their Father's Friends, this Point was debated in the Presence of their Mother; and they came at last to this Resolution, *That Europe should be allotted to Antonine, and Asia to Geta;*

these Continents being as it were by Divine Providence distinguished by the Propontis. It was also agreed upon, That Antonine's Army should lie encamped at Byzantium, and Geta's at Chalcedon in Bithynia ; that lying opposite one to the other, they might guard their several Frontiers, and hinder any Descent which might be made upon them. A third Article was, That such Senators as were Europeans should remain at Rome ; that the rest should repair to Geta's Court, which he design'd to keep in Antioch or Alexandria, looking upon those Cities as little inferior to Rome in bigness. Of the African Provinces Antonine was to have the Moors and Numidians, and the bordering Nations ; and Geta the rest, as far as the East.

While this Matter was in agitation, the whole Assembly seem'd mightily concern'd, and fix'd their Eyes upon the Ground ; but Julia broke out into this tender Expostulation : *O my Sons, says she, you have found out Means to divide the Lands and Seas, and the Propontis, you say, will separate your Territories;* but

but how will you divide your Mother ? how shall wretched I be apportion'd and carv'd between you ? First kill me and cut me to Pieces ; then take each of you a Part, and bury it with you ; so I shall be shar'd between you, as well as the Land and the Sea. This she spoke with all the Affection and Concern imaginable, shedding Tears all the Time ; and as soon as she had done, flinging her Arms about them, and embracing them with all the Endearment and Tenderness of a fond Mother, essay'd all possible Ways to make them Friends. This stirr'd up Compassion in all that were present, and immediately the Council was dissolv'd, and the Proposal rejected, both the Emperors returning to their Palaces.

But these Heats and Quarrels were more and more inflam'd every Day : Whether an Employment Civil or Military was to be elected into, each stickled for the Promotion of his own Creature. If they were upon the Bench doing Justice, they always disagreed in Opinion, to the no small prejudice of the

the Parties in the Suit depending before them ; their Decrees being always more influenc'd by their own Passions than by any Regard to what was Equitable and Just. At Publick Games they constantly espous'd different Sides, and set all Engines at work against one anothers Life, even to the corrupting their Cooks and Butlers to poyson their several Masters : But when these Designs did not succeed so fortunately as they could have wish'd, in regard both the Emperors were extremely cautious what they eat or drank, *Antonine* grew impatient, and being driven forward by an irresistible Desire of Ruling alone , fell into bloody and dangerous Designs ; and finding that his secret Machinations fail'd of bringing about his Ends, he judg'd it necessary to betake himself to Counsels that were more hazardous and desperate, by reason of his Mothers extreme Fondness of *Geta* , and *Geta*'s Designs upon him. This Resolve being form'd, he rush'd into *Geta*'s Chambers, and gave him his mortal Wound upon the

Breast

Breast of his Mother, who was all besmeard with his Blood.

Antonine, after the Commission of this horrid Murther, ran through the Court, crying aloud, *That he had with great difficulty escap'd an imminent danger* ; and commanded the Soldiers that guarded the Palace instantly to conduct him to his Army, affirming, *That he should infallibly be kill'd if he staid in the Palace*. The Guards believ'd him, not knowing what had hapned, and ran along with him ; the People being infinitely surpriz'd to see the Emperor run through the City in the Evening in that Confusion. As soon as he reach'd the Camp, he went directly to the Place where the Statues and Gods of the Army are kept, and falling down before them, render'd Thanks, and sacrific'd to them, as for some signal Deliverance.

As soon as the Report of this Adventure was spread about the Camp, the Soldiers, some whereof were in the Baths, others in their Beds, ran all to the Place in great astonishment. Here the

the Emperor came out to them, but did not presently discover the Truth of the Matter, but cry'd aloud, *That he had avoided a Danger; that he had escap'd the Attempts of an Enemy*, (meaning his Brother) *that after a long Dispute, his Adversaries were vanquish'd; that both of them had been in manifest Peril*, but Fortune had at last declar'd him sole Emperor. Thus giving indirect Hints of what had hap- ned, and willing rather that they should suspect what was done, than that he should inform them.

And now for the Security of his Person, and the Establishment of his Empire, he promis'd every Soldier 2500 *Attack Drachma's* by way of Donative, and augmented their Allowance of Corn by an Addition of half as much as they usually receiv'd; commanding them to march to the Temples and Exchequers, and be their own Payma- sters; thus squandring in one Day all the Treasure which *Severus* had amass'd in Eighteen Years, by the Ruin and Oppression of his Subjects. The Lure of so

so considerable a Sum easily tempted the Soldiers, who understanding the Truth of the Matter from the Reports of those that fled out of the Palace, and took care to publish an Account of the Murder, proclaim'd him sole Emperor, declaring *Geta* a Traytor. Antonine remain'd that Night in the Temple of the Army; but the next Day, trusting to the Efficacy of his Largess upon the Soldiers, he adventur'd to go to the Senate, attended by his whole Army, somewhat better appointed than is usual upon the like Occasions. After he had entred the Senate, and Sacrific'd, ascend- ing the Imperial Throne, he spoke to the following effect,

ANTONINE'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen, I am not ignorant that at first sight Men look upon the Murder of a Domestick with Abhorrence and Detestation: The very Name, upon the first mention, is apt to draw the severest Censure on those that are guilty of the Crime. Envy does

does not oftner pursue the Victor, than Compassion attends the Vanquish'd: These always seem to be injur'd, and those are still the Wrong-doers. But if a Man would impartially consider, and without Prejudice in favour of him that is dead, weigh the Matter of Fact, with the Occasion and Design of it, he will find, that it is both rational and necessary to anticipate a Mischief we have just Reason to apprehend, by a timely Revenge, rather than tamely to attend till it fall upon us. In this Case, the Misery of the Wretch that suffers, is aggravated by the Reproach of Cowardice: Whereas, on the other hand, the Reputation of Valour which accrues to the Conqueror, enhances the Benefit of his Deliverance. Now, Gentlemen, what Attempts he has made against my Life by Poyson, and what other Plots he has form'd against me, you may examine, by putting his Servants to the Question, whom for that Reason I have commanded to give their Attendances in this Place, that you might be thoroughly inform'd of the Truth. Some of them have been tortur'd already, whose Confessions you may order to be read. But at last, in the Presence of my

Mother

Mother be set upon me, being seconded by several Ruffians with drawn Swords, who were prepar'd to commit this Villainy. I had indeed, by my extraordinary Caution and Sagacity, discover'd his Traiterous Intentions, and treated him as a profess'd Enemy, after he had renounc'd all that Affection and Kindness that is due from a Brother, and acted very unsuitably to that Relation. To chastise an unlawful Aggressor, is not only just, but what is approv'd by the general Practice of Mankind. An Instance of this we have in Romulus the Founder of this City, who could not put up the Affront of his Brother, that only reflected upon what he had built. I pass over Germanicus, Brother to Nero; and Titus, Brother to Domitian. Marcus himself, tho' a Man of great Wisdom and Temper, resented the Indignity put upon him by Lucius his Son in-Law so highly, that nothing less than his Ruine could atone for it, which he afterwards contriv'd. But I, justly alarm'd by the manifest Danger I was in from the Poyson and Sword that threaten'd me, have executed Vengeance upon an Enemy, his Behaviour having

having pronounc'd him such. 'Tis your Duty, on this Occasion, to return Thanks to the Immortal Gods, for the preserving one of your Emperors, to suppress the Spirit of Faction and Division reigning amongst you; and having only one Prince, unanimously to support his Interests, and enjoy the common Benefit of Repose and Security. As Jove alone hath all the Power above, so 'tis his Pleasure there should be one only Potentate on Earth.

Having thus spoke in a loud Voice and great Rage, frowning all the time upon his Brother's Friends, he return'd in haste to his Palace, leaving most of the Senators under great Terrors and Apprehensions, and instantly massacred all his Brother's Adherents, Ministers, and Menial Servants, that were in or about his Palace, without any respect to Age, his Cruelty extending even to Infants. Their dead Bodies were contemptuously thrown into Carts, and hurried out of the City, where they were burnt in Heaps, without the Decency of

of common Ceremonies. No Man escap'd that had the least Acquaintance with *Geta*. All Wrestlers, Charioteers, Players, Buffoons, Singers, Dancers, that had any way contributed to his Diversification, were all sacrific'd to his present Fury. Men that were of the highest Consideration in the Senate for Quality and Estate, he put to Death for slight or no Reasons, upon any trivial Information exhibited against them, under the Notion of *Geta*'s Adherents. He also put to death *Commodus*'s Sister, an aged Lady, to whom the other Emperors had paid a singular Deference, in regard of her near Alliance to *Marcus*, whose Daughter she was. Her Crime was, the condoling with his Mother upon the Murder of her Son *Geta*. Besides these, he caus'd to be murder'd *Plautian*'s Daughter his late Wife, who was at that time in *Sicily*, his own Cousin-german *Severus*, together with *Pertinax*'s Son, and the Son of *Lucilla* *Commodus*'s Sister; and, in short, utterly extirpated and extinguish'd the Imperial Line,

Line, with the whole Patrician Nobility. From hence his Fury pass'd over into the Provinces, where, by his Orders, were dispatch'd all the Prefects and Procurators, whom he charg'd with the having been in *Geta's* Interests. Whole Nights were spent in the executing his cruel Decrees. He buried the Vestal Virgins alive for pretended Breaches of their Vow of Chastity, which he arraign'd them of. Lastly, (which was a Cruelty absolutely without Precedent) at the *Circenian* Games, where he was present in Person, when some of the Mob threw out some Words to the disadvantage of a Charioteer that he favour'd, considering this as a Contempt offer'd to himself, he pour'd his whole Army upon them, with positive Order to cut in pieces all those that had presum'd to say any thing against his Charioteer. The Soldiers having thus a Power put into their Hands to slay and pillage the People with Authority, and it being impossible to distinguish the Innocent from the Guilty, in so great a Multitude, where

none

none would confess the Fact, they murder'd all without Mercy or Distinction, or took what they had from them by way of Ransom, and then suffer'd them to escape, tho' with great Difficulty.

Antonine, upon review of these Actions, felt great Remorses of Conscience, and his Stay in the City became irksom and uneasie to him; insomuch that he determin'd to leave it for some time, which he did under pretence of regulating Affairs relating to the Army, and of visiting the Provinces. So he parted from *Italy*, and came to the Banks of the *Ister*, and the Northern Parts of the Empire, where he exercis'd himself in Chariot-driving, and Combating with all sorts of Wild Beasts. He seldom sat in the Courts of Justice; and when he did, his Judgments were hasty, often passing Sentence before he had heard the Merits of the Cause. He won the Hearts of all the *Germans*, and made a strict League and Friendship with them; he made them also his Confederates in his Wars, and chose the goodliest and

strongest amongst them to be of his Life-guard. He often put off his *Roman Habit*, and dress'd himself after the Fashion of the *Germans*, frequently appear'd in a *German Cloak*, curiously flower'd with Silver, according to the Mode of that Country: He likewise wore Yellow Hair, which had also the *German Cut*. These Condescensions gain'd wonderfully upon the *Germans*, and made the Emperor the Darling of that Barbarous People. Nor was he less dear to his own Soldiers, whose Affections he gain'd chiefly by the profuse Largesses which he dealt amongst them, and by his reducing himself to a Level with the rest of his Soldiers: For if a Trench was to be made, or Bridge to be built, or Rampart to be cast up, or any thing to be done that requir'd Bodily Labour, he was still the first Man that set the rest an Example. He eat at a very mean Table; the Cups and Dishes he was serv'd in were made of Wood; his Bread was course ordinary Cakes; his Custom was to grind

as much Corn with his own Hand as was sufficient for one Man, and to knead it into a Cake, and bake it upon the Coals. He abstain'd from all sorts of Delicacies, and confin'd himself to as course a Fare as serves the poorest Common Soldier. He always appear'd more pleas'd when they call'd him Fellow Soldier, than when he was accosted by the Title of Emperor. For the most part he travell'd on Foot, very rarely rid on Horseback or in his Coach, carry'd his own Arms, and sometimes the Standard, which was adorn'd with Bosses of Gold, and was so heavy, that 'twas a Load for the strongest Soldier in the Army. For these and the like Reasons he was extremely belov'd and admir'd by his Army, as a brave Man, and a good Soldier; and 'twas almost a Miracle that so small a Body as his was should endure such mighty Hardships.

After he had review'd his Army on the *Ister*, he pass'd over into *Thrace* that borders upon *Macedon*. Here he commenc'd an *Alexander Redivivus*, and en-

deavour'd by all Means to renew the Memory of that Prince. He commanded his Images and Statues to be erected in all the Cities; *Rome* it self, the Capitol, and all the Temples were fill'd with them. These Honours were paid him in consideration of an Alliance to him which the Emperor pretended to. I have seen very ridiculous Pictures, with one entire Body and Head, and two Half-Faces, the one representing *Alexander*, the other *Antonine*. He appear'd abroad in a *Macedonian* Habit, with a Turban on his Head, and Slippers fastned to his Feet. He had a Regiment compos'd of the Flower of his Army, which he call'd the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and commanded the Officers to take upon them the Names of *Alexander's Captains*. He also sent for Young Men to *Sparta*, and call'd them the *Laconick and Pitanite Bands*.

After he had done this, and put all Things in the Cities in as good a Method as they were capable of, he took his way for *Pergamus*, a City of *Asia*,

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in order to have the Benefit of *Aesculapius's* healing Influence. After he was arriv'd here, and had follow'd his own *Caprichio's* as long as he thought fit, he set out towards *Ilium*: Here he survey'd the Ruines of that Place, and visited *Achilles's* Tomb, which he adorn'd most curiously with Chaplets and Flowers of all sorts. Here he set up for a second *Achilles*, and being at a loss for a *Patroclus*, supply'd the Want by this Shift. *Festus*, his Favourite Freed-man, and Remembrancer-general, dy'd while he was at *Ilium*; some say indeed he was poysон'd; to the end he might be interr'd in the same manner that *Patroclus* had been; yet others say he dy'd naturally. His dead Body was order'd to be brought out, and a Funeral Pile to be rais'd of Wood; the Corps was laid upon the middle of the Pile, and Beasts of all Kinds were slain; after which the Emperor set Fire to the Pile, and holding a Vial in his Hand, sacrific'd Wine, and pray'd to the Winds. His Hair was extremely thin, and it was

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very

very ridiculous to see the Emperor cut it off and cast it into the Fire, and very much diverted those that look'd on. He extoll'd the *Roman Sylla*, and *African Hannibal*, above all the Generals of all Ages; and to demonstrate his high Opinion of them, commanded their Statues to be erected.

Departing from *Ilium*, he pass'd through *Asia* and *Bithynia*, and the other Provinces; and taking such Measures as were necessary for the Settlement of Affairs in those Parts, he arriv'd at *Antioch*. Here he was receiv'd very splendidly; and having staid some time, took his Journey for *Alexandria*, pretending a mighty Desire of visiting that City, of which *Alexander* was the Founder, and of consulting a Deity, to which the Inhabitants pay so singular a Veneration. These were the Colours he gave to this Expedition. And to the end it might give no Jealousie to the People, he order'd Provision to be made of Hecatombs and all manner of Sacrifices. The *Alexandrians*, upon notice of

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the Visit which the Emperor design'd them, being naturally light, and apt to be mov'd by every Breath of Air, were perfectly ecstasy'd, especially when they understood what Zeal and Affection the Emperor had testified for them. And now Preparations were making for his Reception, which they had resolv'd should be more magnificent than ever had been made for any Prince. In order to this, Masters of Musick were dispos'd in all Parts of the City, with Instruments of differing Kinds; and from this Variety of Sounds resulted a most delightful Harmony. The Air was sweetned with Perfumes and sweet Gums in all the Entrances into the Town. Flowers were strew'd, and Flambeau's were carried before him. He made his Entry with his whole Army, and went in the first place to the Temple, where he sacrific'd great Numbers of Victims, and heap'd Incense upon the Altars. From hence he went to the Tomb of *Alexander*, where he offer'd up his Purple Robes, and Belt, and

and Rings set with Stones of great Price, and whatever else he had about him that was of extraordinary Value, and laid them upon the Tomb. The People seeing this, were overjoy'd, and dedicated their whole Time to Reveling and Jollity, little suspecting the secret Intentions of the Emperor.

But all this was only a Varnish to disguise his hidden Purposes, which were utterly to destroy all the Inhabitants. The Cause of his secret Hatred to them was this. He had been inform'd while he was in *Rome*, that both before and after his Brothers Death, they had often jested very irreverently upon him. They are a People naturally addicted to drolling, and making Satirical Touches on Things and Men, not sparing even the most eminent. They look upon it only as pleasant Raillery; but it galls those to the quick who are made the Subjects of it, especially if it have some Ground of Truth; for those Jests still make the deepest Wounds, that touch upon a real Guilt. They had

frequently made very scurrilous Reflections upon him, not wav'g even the Subject of his Brother's Murder. His Mother they call'd in contempt *Fo-casta*, and ridicul'd him for pretending to personate *Achilles* and *Alexander*, the mightiest and most valorous *Hero's* of Antiquity, himself coming so far short of the ordinary Proportion of Men. These things were highly disobligeing to him, and incens'd him to that degree, being naturally cholerick and sanguinary, that he resolv'd to contrive their Destruction.

After the Festival Jollity was over, the Town being very full of People which resorted thither from all Quarters, he put out an Edict, commanding all the Young Men in the City to rendezvous on a certain Plain, setting forth his Intention of constituting a *Phalanx* in Honour of *Alexander*, that as he had a *Spartan* and a *Macedonian Phalanx*, so he would have another which should bear the Name of that *Heroe*. He order'd them also to marshal themselves into Ranks, and to stand at

a convenient Distance one from another, that he might the better take a View of them, and upon consideration of their Age, Stature, and Make of Body, judge which would be the fittest for his Service. The *Alexandrian* Youth easily believ'd him, and conceiv'd mighty Hopes, as they might do upon very good Grounds, by reason of that extraordinary Respect which he had shewn the City ; and assembled in great Numbers at the Place appointed, together with their Fathers and Brothers, very much rejoicing at their fair Prospects. When they were rang'd, the Emperor walk'd in amongst them, laying his Hand upon them as he pass'd by, and commanding one thing in one Man, and another thing in another, till they were all enclos'd by his Army before they were aware of any such Design. As soon as the Emperor perceiv'd that his Army had encompass'd them, and that they were all enclos'd as it were in a Net, he withdrew from amongst them with the Guard that attended him, and giving

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the Signal to his Soldiers, they instantly fell upon them, being without Arms, and surrounded and cut them all to pieces, with all the other Multitude that were there assembled. Some of the Soldiers carried on the Tragedy of the Day, others dragg'd the dead Bodies into the Pits that they had dug for that purpose ; after which they rais'd over them a great *Tumulus* of Earth. Some that were hurried into these Pits, were but half dead ; others were not so much as wounded. Great Numbers of the Soldiers also perish'd ; for those that had any Remains of Life and Force, fastned upon those that push'd them into the Pits, and pull'd them down along with them. The Slaughter was so great, that all the Plain was floated with Blood, which discharging it self into the Sea and the *Nile*, discolour'd the Mouth of that mighty River, and all the Neighbouring Shore.

After the Emperor had thus executed his Revenge on the *Alexandrians*, he left that City, and return'd to *Antioch* ; and soon

soon after extremely affecting the Surname of *Parthicus*, and the Glory of Conquering the Eastern Barbarians, in the profoundest Tranquillity he fram'd this Project. He sent Ambassadors with Letters and rich Presents to *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*; in his Letters he demanded his Daughter in Marriage, and set forth at large, That he was an Emperor, and the Son of an Emperor; that he could not marry the Daughter of a Private Person; that his Station in the World oblig'd him to match with some Queen or Princess of high Birth; that the Roman and Parthian Empires were the greatest in the World; that if the two Crowns were united and cemented by this Alliance into one Empire, without any Rivers or Boundaries to divide them, as heretofore, the whole World beside would not be able to balance their Powers in Conjunction; that the Barbarous Nations that are subject to both Empires would be easily kept within the Bounds of their Duty, provided they were suffer'd to enjoy their own Governors and Constitutions; that the Roman Infantry and Pike-men were

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the best in the World for a close Engagement; that the Parthians excell'd all other Nations in the Force of their Cavalry, and the Dexterity of their Archers; that these Things concurring with a Provision of all War-like Stores, would put them in a Capacity of establishing and maintaining with ease an Universal Monarchy; that whereas heretofore the Parthian Spices and Silks, and the Metals and curious Manufactures of the Romans, were only imported by Merchants, and that very rarely, and by stealth, that after this Union there should be a free and open Use and Intercourse of all Things whatsoever between the two Nations.

Upon receipt of the Letters, the Parthian at first refus'd to accord him his Demands, and remonstrated to him the Inconveniences of a Match between a Roman and one that was Barbarous; That it would be impossible for them to agree, each being an utter Stranger to the others Language, and their Diet and Habit so vastly different; that he had Noble men in Rome whose Daughters he might take to Wife, as he had his Arsacidæ; that it was not

not convenient their Blood should be corrupted by any Foreign Mixture. These were the Reasons he alledg'd for the rejecting his Proposal. But *Antonine* making fresh Instances to him, and enforcing them with rich Presents, and repeated Protestations of his great Kindness and Passion for the Princes, the *Parthian* was at last prevail'd upon, and promis'd to give him his Daughter, and began already to call him his Son-in-Law. The News whereof being carried up and down, the Barbarous People were putting all Things in Posture for the Reception of the *Roman* Emperor, and beheld with Joy the near Prospect of an everlasting Peace. *Antonine* pass'd the Rivers without Impeachment, and enter'd the *Parthian* Territories, which he look'd upon as his own; the People all along sacrificing, and offering Incense upon crowned Altars, with which Civility he appear'd extremely satisfied, and advanc'd up into the Country, till he drew near to the *Parthian* Court; at which time *Artabanus* march'd out into a spacious

spacious Plain that lies before the City, to receive his Son-in-Law. Here were great Numbers of *Parthians*, adorn'd with Chaplets of Flowers of their own growth, and Gowns of Silk flower'd with Silver, and curiously dy'd. They were celebrating a Festival, and dancing with artful Motion, and due Observance of Time, to the Musick of Flutes, Pipes, &c. which is an Entertainment they are extremely delighted with, especially when they are enflam'd with Wine.

The Multitude were no sooner drawn together upon the Plain, but they forsook their Horses, threw aside their Bows and Quivers, and abandon'd themselves to Revellings and Festival Gaieties. The Concourse of People was very great, and, as Luck would have it, they stood very disorderly, without the least Jealousie or Apprehension, every Man pressing forward to get a Sight of the new Bridegroom. The Opportunity being thus favourable, *Antonine* gave the Signal to his Men to R. begin

begin the Massacre, having before given positive Orders to put all to the Sword. The Barbarians amaz'd with the unexpected Encounter, soon turn'd their Backs, and the *Romans* gave them chase, killing many, and wounding more. *Artabanus* was born off by his Guards, and being set upon a Horse, made his Escape, with a small Party, and great Difficulty; all the rest were cut to pieces. They wanted their Horses, which are of the greatest Service to them in a Battel; for they were dismounted before, and had turn'd them to graze: Nor could they betake themselves to their Heels, which were entangled in the loose Garments that came down to their Feet. Bows and Arrows they had none, nor was there any Occasion for them at the Celebration of a Marriage. *Antonine*, after he had made a great Slaughter, return'd with great Numbers of Prisoners, and a vast Booty, without any Opposition, burning the Cities and Villages to the Ground, and giving all up to the Plunder and Ravage of his Soldiers.

Soldiers. Such was the Calamity which befel the *Parthians*, in an Hour when they least expected it. *Antonine*, after he had spoil'd and harrass'd all the Country, and his Soldiers were tir'd with ravaging and killing, return'd into *Mesopotamia*, from whence he sent an Express to the Senate and People of *Rome*, with the News, that he had made an entire Conquest of the East, and reduc'd all those Kingdoms under his Dominion. The Senate, tho' they had had true Accounts of the whole Progress of this Expedition, (for 'tis impossible for the Actions of Princes to be conceal'd) yet out of Fear or Flattery they decreed him all the Honours of victorious Generals. After this, he staid some time in *Mesopotamia*, following the Diversions of Hunting and Chariot-driving.

Antonine had two Generals, *Audentius* and *Macrinus*; the first was an old Man, reputed an excellent Captain, but utterly unacquainted with Civil Busines; the latter was a good Lawyer, and an

244 *The Life and Reign of*

able Pleader. The Emperor would often upbraid him publickly with want of Courage and Military Conduct, proceeding sometimes to the bitterest Reproaches. He had been inform'd, that *Macrinus* kept a good Table, and esteem'd himself above a course and common Diet; which the Emperor, out of a Martial Humour, was extremely delighted with. He heard also, that he wore a Cloak, and dress'd after the City fashion, which gave occasion to the Imputations he threw upon him, of Softness and Effeminacy, and to his threatening to kill him. Which Things touch'd *Macrinus* so sensibly, that he was not able any longer to bear them.

About this time it hapned, that *Antonine*, being naturally very curious, and considering that he must die sooner or later, was very desirous to enlarge the View of his Understanding beyond the Bounds of Humane Knowledge, and to dive into the Secrets of Gods and Demons. He fancies every Body had a Design upon his Life, consulted all the

Oracles,

Oracles, and summon'd all Pretenders to the Mystery of Astrology and Fortune-telling, to rendezvous at his Court; and herein he was so diligent, that not one of that Kind of Impostors escap'd him. But suspecting that they did not tell him what was most probable, but what they imagin'd would please him most, he sent to *Maternian* in *Rome*, where he sat at the Helm of Publick Affairs, being the Emperor's greatest Favourite, and the only Man whom he us'd with an universal Confidence. Him he order'd to call a Council of the most eminent of the *Magi*, and by Necromantick Art to enquire about the End of his Life, and whether any Designs were a-foot against the Government. *Maternian* readily executed his Orders, and whether the Spirits that were rais'd made any such Discovery to him, or he did it out of a private Pique to *Macrinus*, remains uncertain; but he gave the Emperor to understand by Letter, that *Macrinus* was in an Intrigue to gain the Crown, and that it would behove him

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speedily to cut him off. The Letter he seal'd, and gave it amongst other Letters, as he us'd to do, to the Post, who knew nothing of the Contents, but perform'd his Journey with his usual Expedition, and came to the Emperor when he was in his driving Equipage, and just ready to mount his Chariot; he deliver'd the whole Packet to him, and amongst the rest was the Letter which concern'd *Macrinus*. The Emperor was so set upon his Sport, that he commanded *Macrinus* to take the Letters, and to withdraw from the Company, and peruse them, and if there was any thing of moment, to acquaint him with it; if not, to do the Duties of his Office as Captain of his Life-guard; which was an Admonition he frequently repeated. After he had given these Orders, he fell to his Sports.

Macrinus withdrew and loos'd the Letters, and lighting upon that which was of fatal importance to himself, saw how imminent the Danger was, and knowing the Emperor's Violence and Cruelty on these

these Occasions, especially when he had any Pretence for it, wisely suppress'd the Letter, and gave him an Account, as he us'd to do, of what was material in the rest: But apprehending a second Letter from *Maternian* upon the same Subject, he thought it better to be active than passive in a Case of this Nature, and laid this Plot. There was one *Martial*, a Centurion of the Emperor's Life-guard, that always attended him; his Brother had been put to death by the Emperor, upon an Information against him, without any Conviction. The Emperor had also revil'd *Martial* himself, calling him *Cowardly Rascal*, and *Macrinus his Tool*. So *Macrinus* sent for him, being in great Affliction, as well for his Brother's Death, as his own ill Treatment, not doubting but he would be fit for his Purpose, because he was under great Obligations to him, and had always been very ready to serve him. He imparted to him his Design of taking off *Antonine*, and desir'd him to give the Blow as soon as a favourable Opportunity

nity should offer it self: Which was no sooner propos'd than undertaken by *Martial*, *Macrinus's* Promises, his Brother's Murder, and his own Resentments, all conspiring to push him forward to the Attempt.

It fell out, that soon after this Assassination was projected, the Emperor being then at *Carrae*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, resolv'd to visit the Temple of the *Moon*, which is held in extraordinary esteem by the Natives. This Temple stands at a great distance from the City, so the Emperor only took a few Horsemen with him, that he might not harass his whole Army, designing to return as soon as he had sacrific'd to the Deity of the Place. In the middle of the Journey he had a Motion to Stool, and order'd all his Retinue to withdraw, and went aside to ease Nature, attended only by one Servant, all the rest retiring, and standing at a great distance, out of respect. *Martial*, that warily observ'd all his Motions, seeing him alone, ran to him in great haste, as if he had beckon'd

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to him to hear or see somewhat, and watching his Opportunity, when he stood with his Back to him, and was busied in pulling down his Breeches, stabb'd him with a Poniard which he had secretly about him, of which he instantly died. Thus *Antonine* receiv'd the fatal Stroke, when he was the least aware of it, none of his Guards being near enough to defend him.

Martial, as soon as the Busines was done, leap'd upon his Horse, and attempted to make his Escape; but the German Horsemen, whom the Emperor held in great Esteem, and had appoint'd to be of his Guard, being the nearest his Person, and the first that discover'd what was done, instantly pursu'd him, and levelling at him with their Javelins, struck him dead. The rest of the Soldiers, as soon as they heard of it, ran together in great Disorder; nor was any Man's Sorrow more remarkable upon this Occasion than *Macrinus's*; no Man seem'd more affected, or shed more Tears over the dead Body. The

Disaster

Disaster extremely afflicted the whole Army ; they consider'd in him the Loss of a Companion and Fellow-Soldier, more than that of a Prince. But no Suspicion was entertain'd of *Macrinus*, no Man doubting but *Martial* was led by a private Resentment to the Commission of this Murder, and so every Man return'd to his own Tent. *Macrinus* burnt the Body, and depositing the Ashes in an Urn, sent them to his Mother in *Antioch* to be buried. These Misfortunes of the Children were laid so to Heart by the Mother, that she offer'd Violence to her self ; but whether voluntarily, or by compulsion, remains uncertain. Thus fell *Antonine* and his Mother *Julia*, after they had liv'd as is before related. He reign'd Six Years after the Death of his Father and Brother.

After the Death of *Antonine*, the Army was in great irresolution and uncertainty what to do : So there was an *Inter-regnum* for two Days, which were spent in Debates and Deliberations about a Successor. They had receiv'd Advice, that

that *Artabanus* was advancing against them with a mighty Force, being resolv'd to pursue his Revenge, and to sacrifice them to the Ghosts of his Subjects, whom they had treacherously murder'd in a Time of Peace and Festival Solemnity. The Choice fell upon *Audentius*, who was reckon'd upon as a Man of great Courage, and Experience in the Art of War ; but he excus'd himself, alledging his Incapacity for so important a Charge, by reason of his great Age. Then they chose *Macrinus*. This Election was very much influenc'd by the Tribunes, in favour of *Macrinus*, who were after his Death look'd upon as his Complices, and privy to his Designs against *Antonine*, as will appear in the Sequel of this History. So *Macrinus* succeeded ; the Army in this Election being determin'd rather by the Necessity of the Conjunction, than by any Esteem or Confidence they had in the Person elected.

While these Things were in agitation, *Artabanus* approach'd with a great Army, compos'd

compos'd of a great Force of Cavalry and Archers, and Cuirassiers that rode upon Camels, and fought with long Spears. Whereupon Macrinus call'd his Soldiers together, and harangu'd them to the following Effect.

MACRINUS his SPEECH to
the ARMY.

I Don't wonder, Gentlemen, that you are all so deeply afflicted with the Loss of such a Prince, or rather of a Fellow-Soldier: But it is the Part of a Wise Man to bear all the Traverses of Fortune with Steadiness and Moderation. His Memory shall for ever be preserv'd in our Breasts, and handed down to Posterity, with the Immortal Glory of his Great and Noble Atchievements; nor shall we ever forget his singular Love of you, which he testified in so unusual a Condescension, even by stooping to the common Duties of the meanest Soldier. But now that we have paid the Honours due to his Memory, and discharg'd all Debts of that Nature, it concerns us to consult our own

Welfare

Welfare and Security. Artabanus is advanc'd against us with the whole Power of the East, and seems to have just Grounds of Quarrel against us. We were the Aggressors; we infring'd the Treaty, and made War upon him in the profoundest Tranquillity. And now, Gentlemen, the whole Roman Empire relies upon your Courage and Fidelity. The Point in dispute is not about Rivers or Boundaries. Our whole Fortunes lie at Stake. A mighty Potentate comes against us, to execute Revenge for the Murther of his Children and Relations, who, he says, were unjustly massacred, and in manifest violation of the most solemn Leagues. My Advice is, that you stand to your Arms, and be careful to keep your Ranks according to the Roman Discipline. The Barbarians are an unform'd, irregular Multitude; their very Numbers will be an hindrance to them; whilst your Order and Military Skill will not only preserve you from Danger, but give you great Advantages over the Enemy. Take Heart therefore, and behave your selves as Romans ought to do, and you have done hitherto. If you

you vanquish, you will not only reap the Glory which this Action deserves, but this will be the most effectual Method of convincing Rome, and the World, that your former Victory over them was not gain'd by Treachery and Surprize, but by true Valour and Force of Arms.

After he had spoke, the Soldiers seeing the Necessity of the present Juncture of Affairs, rang'd themselves in Battel-array, and stood to their Arms. As soon as the Sun rose, *Artabanus* came in sight with a vast Army ; and the Barbarians, after they had worshipp'd the Sun with the usual Ceremonies of those Countries, made the Onset with terrible Shouts. The Cavalry begun the Charge with a Volley of Arrows. The *Romans* were marshall'd with great Caution, and stood in very good Order. The *Moorish* Cavalry was plac'd in both the Wings ; in the Lanes between the Ranks were posted Light-Horsemen, that were ready to sally out upon Occasion. Thus imbattell'd, they sup-

ported

ported with great firmness the Charge of the Barbarians, who gall'd them extremely with the Multitude of their Arrows, and the long Spears which the Cuirassiers fought with from their Horses and Camels. On the other Hand, whenever they came to close Combate, the *Romans* had still the better : But when they found themselves press'd by the Enemies Horse and Camels, which were very numerous, they feign'd a Flight, and so decoy'd the Barbarians amongst sharp Iron Stakes, and other Engines that were prepared beforehand. These Stakes were cover'd with Sand, so well, that they were not discover'd ; which made this Stratagem prove very fatal to the Enemies Horse : For as soon as they rode amongst them, their Horses, but especially their Camels, that have very tender Hoofs, began to halt, and throw their Riders to the Ground. Now the *Parthians* as long as they are on Horseback behave themselves very manfully ; but whenever they come to dismount or fall from their Horses, they are

are easily taken, and are not able to bear the Shock of a close Engagement. Beside, they are so encumber'd by a loose Garment about their Legs, that they can neither fly nor pursue. The Engagement lasted two whole Days, from Sun rise to Sun-set, till the Night coming on put an end to it; at which time they return'd to their respective Camps, each esteeming the Advantage to be on his own Side. The third Day both Sides drew their Armies out into the Field, and the *Parthians*, who were far the most numerous, endeavour'd to surround the *Romans*; but they disappointed them, by enlarging the Front of their Army to a great breadth, without any considerable depth. The Numbers of the Men and Beasts that were slain was so great, that they fill'd the Field. The dead Bodies were pil'd up to a vast height, especially the Camels, that fell one upon another in great numbers, which cut off all possibility of engaging; for the Armies could neither see nor come at one another, by reason

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of a vast and almost unsurmountable Heap of dead Bodies that lay between them. So both retir'd to their several Camps.

And now *Macrinus* understanding that the Reason why *Artabanus* fought with so much Fury and Obsturacy, was because he thought *Antonine* was his Enemy, [it being generally observ'd, that the Barbarians are soon discourag'd, and sink as it were under the Fatigue, if they don't meet with fortunate Success in their first Rencounters; but now they stood it out, and were resolv'd to renew the Battel as soon as the dead Bodies were remov'd and burnt, not knowing that the Author of all this Quarrel was dead,] he sent Ambassadors to him with Letters, wherein he gave him to understand, *That the Emperor who had violated his Oath and League with him, was kill'd, and had receiv'd the Punishment due to his Offence; that the Romans, to whom the Empire of right belong'd, had put the Sovereign Power into his Hands; that he disapprov'd the late Proceedings of his Predecessor,*

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cessor,

cessor; and therefore would restore all the Prisoners that were alive, with the whole Booty that he had brought away; and would enter into a strict League and Amity with him, which should be ratified by Oaths and Sacrifices.

Artabanus read the Letter, and receiving a particular Account from the Ambassadors of the Assassination of *Antonine*, thought he had paid dear enough for the Infraction of a League; and being well satisfied with the Restitution of the Prisoners and Booty, without any farther Bloodshed, concluded a Peace, and return'd home; and *Macrinus* leaving Mesopotamia, march'd with his Army to Antioch.

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E P I T O M E
O F T H E
F i f t h B o o k .

O *Pilius Macrinus* gives an Account by Letter to the Senate of the Course and Conduct of Affairs, and is declar'd Emperor by that Assembly, to the great Satisfaction of all Men. He remains in Antioch, where his Effeminacy renders him Odious to the Soldiers: So a Commotion being rais'd, they betray him, and he is kill'd in Chalcedon a City of Bithynia, being vanquish'd by *Bassian* the Priest of the Sun, who is brought into the Camp, and being suppos'd the Son of *Antonine*, is call'd after him, and proclaim'd Emperor. In the very beginning of his Reign he abandons himself to the

most profligate Courses, exposing both himself and the Roman Religion to Calumny and Contempt. He worships his God Heliogabulus, and in his Behaviour both Publick and Private, in Matters Sacred as well as Profane, is guilty of the greatest Folly and Madness. So he falls under the Displeasure of the Soldiers, and is kill'd by them; and Alexander, who was lately declar'd Cæsar, is set up in his Room, and proclaim'd Emperor.

The Fifth Book.

THE Account of *Antonine's Reign and Death*, of the Plot that was laid against him, and of the Establishment of the Succession upon his Decease, is delivered in the former Book. *Macrinus* remain'd still in *Antioch*, from whence he sent Letters, directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*, the Substance whereof was, *That he thought it needless to use many Words to them, who were so well acquainted with the Principles*

on

on which he had all along acted, with his natural Disposition to Gentleness, and with his constant Moderation in the whole Course of his late Ministry, wherein his Authority was little inferior to that of the Emperor, whose Person was committed to his Faith and Protection, as Captain of the Life-guard. They knew very well his Dislike of the Emperor's Proceedings, and that he had often interpos'd on their behalf, with no small Hazard to himself, when the Emperor by false Suggestions, which he very much hearkned to, was urg'd on to violent Counsels: That he had often cast Aspersions upon him, and had publickly reproach'd him on the score of his Mildness and Love of the People, and had therefore accus'd him of Laziness and Dissoluteness of Manners: That he always entertain'd Flatterers, and such as inflam'd him by their Calumnies, and spurr'd him on to Cruelty, looking upon them as his truest Friends, and the warmest Zealots for his Interests: That for his own part, he always approv'd gentle Methods; that therefore he had put an end to the War with the Parthians, which had made the whole Em-

pire tremble: That in the Action of the War they came no way short of the Enemy in Prowess and Gallantry: That by the Peace which he had concluded, a formidable Enemy, that was advanc'd against them with a puissant Force, was become their Friend and Ally: That as long as he should be their Prince, a stop should be put to Effusions of Blood, and Alarms of War; the Prerogative should be lower'd, and the Privileges of the Subject advanc'd, and Arbitrary Power should sink into an Aristocracy: That there was no Reason why they should esteem him unworthy of the Empire, or judge it the Error of a blind Chance, by which he was exalted from a Private Gentleman of Rome, to this high Station: That there was no Advantage in high Birth, unless it was accompanied with Moderation and Clemency: That the Gifts of Fortune were often cast on those that did not deserve them; but the Virtues of the Mind stamp'd a real Value and Dignity on all that posseſſ'd them: That Estate, Lustre of Family, &c. might make a Man happy, but were not good Topicks of Commendation, because they are deriv'd

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from others; but Gentleness and Humanity are not only admir'd by all Men, but redound to the real Praise of those whom they adorn: That the Publick had receiv'd no Benefit from the Noble Parentage of Commodus, nor from Antonine's succeeding his Father: That these Princes take the Empire as it were by Right of Inheritance, and abuse it as their own Patrimony; but those that receiv'd it from the free Gift of the People, will always remain sensible of the infinite Obligation, and will still be meditating Returns proportionable to so great a Merit. Besides, this Nobility dispos'd them to Arrogance, and a Contempt of their Subjects, as their Inferiors; whereas those that advanc'd through inferior Employments to this high Dignity, would endeavour to defend it as the Reward of their Industry, and will pay the same Respect and Deference which they us'd to do to those who were their Superiors before this Elevation. As for his part, he would do nothing without their Approbation; they should be his Counsellors, and have a Share in the Conduct of all Publick Affairs, and should enjoy their ancient Liberty and Repose,

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which

which their High-born Princes had depriv'd them of, and which Marcus, and after him Pertinax, both Men of mean Extraction, had endeavour'd to restore: Concluding, That it was better to be the first of a Noble Family, than to debase that Nobility which was transmitted from Glorious Ancestors, by declining from the generous Paths in which they trod.

As soon as the Letter was read, all the Senators broke out into Acclamations of Joy, and unanimously decreed him Imperial Honours: But they were more overjoy'd that *Antonine* was dead, than that *Macrinus* succeeded him; which was express'd by Publick Rejoycings made on that Occasion. All common Informers, and Servants that had accus'd their Masters, were publickly Gibbeted; and what by Proscriptions, what by Capital Punishments inflicted on profligate Villains, the City, and indeed the whole Empire was pretty well purg'd. Those that lay conceal'd, were quiet, for fear of the Justice of the Government. So the People liv'd in Security, and

and enjoy'd at least an Appearance, and as it were a first Dawn of Liberty, during that one Year in which *Macrinus* reign'd.

Macrinus committed a great *Solæcism* in not disbanding and dispersing the Soldiers, and in that he did not hasten to *Rome*, where his Presence was greatly desired, and whither he was invited by the daily repeated Clamours of the People: But he staid in *Antioch*, where he began to affect a long Beard and slow Gate. He would scarce vouchsafe to speak to those that came to him; and when he did, he often spoke so low, it was a hard matter to tell what he said. In these Particulars he copied after *Marcus*, and they were the only Actions of that Prince which he imitated; for he abandon'd himself to dissolute Courses, became a great frequenter of Plays and Musick-meetings, neglected Publick Affairs, and appear'd always in Publick with Buttons, and a Belt curiously embroider'd with Gold and Precious Stones. This Luxury was by no means pleasing to

to the Army, that look'd upon it as an unmanly Softness, better becoming a Woman, or the Barbarous Nations, than the Emperor of *Rome*. These things, I say, gave great disgusts to the Soldiers; they dislik'd his Course of Life, as too effeminate; and calling to mind *Antonine's* Way of Living, which was such as became a Soldier and a Man of Business, they condemn'd *Macrinus's* Luxury. Besides, they murmur'd extremely that they were not permitted to return home, but were constrain'd to live in a Camp in a Foreign Country, where sometimes they wanted necessary Provisions, and that too after a Peace was concluded. They observ'd too at the same time, how softly and delicately the Emperor liv'd. So, in short, things tended to a Rebellion. They began to speak disrespectfully of him, and only sought for some sort of Pretence to remove this Author of their Grievances. Thus it pleas'd the Fates that *Macrinus* having revell'd it in Imperial Dignity for the space of one Year, should lose his

his Life and Empire together; Fortune soon affording a slight Occasion to the Soldiers for the effecting what they desir'd.

There was a certain Lady call'd *Mesa*, born in *Phoenicia*, in the City *Emesa*. She was Sister to *Julia*, *Severus's* Wife, and Mother to *Antonine*, and had liv'd many Years in the Emperor's Court in her Sisters Time, both in the Reigns of *Severus* and *Antonine*; but after her Sisters Death, and the Murder of *Antonine*, was commanded by *Macrinus* to depart into her own Country with her Effects, which were very considerable, by reason of her living at Court so many Years. *Mesa* obey'd the Orders, and return'd into *Phoenicia*. This old Lady had two Daughters, the elder *Soemis*, and *Mammæ* the younger: Each of these had a Son; *Soemis* call'd hers *Bassian*, *Mammæ's* was nam'd *Alexian*: Both the Youths were bred up under the Care of their Mother and Grandmother. *Bassian* was about Fourteen Years old, *Alexian* had just enter'd his Tenth Year. They were

were both Priests of the *Sun*, which is the God of the *Phœnicians*, and in their Language is call'd *Heliogabulus*. They have a magnificent Temple built for him, adorn'd with Gold and Silver and Precious Stones. Nor do the Natives only worship this God, but all the neighbouring Princes and Potentates send rich Presents to him every Year. They have no Statue made with Hands in the likeness of the God, as is usual amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but only a huge Stone, that is round at the bottom, and grows sharper by degrees towards the top. The Colour of it is Black, and the Figure Conical. The Tradition is, that it fell from Heaven. It hath some little Rudenesses and Marks upon it. They say 'tis the Image of the *Sun*, not made by any mortal Artificer, and esteem it as such. *Bassian* was ordain'd his Priest, and performed the Functions of the Priests Office, as being the Elder, appearing publickly in his barbarous Formalities, which were a Gown of Purple Silk flower'd with Gold, that came down

down to his Feet and Hands, all his Legs being cover'd with Under-Vestments of the same Silk. Upon his Head he wore a Crown, richly adorn'd with Precious Stones of several Colours. Besides, he was then in the flower of his Age, and the goodliest Youth of his Time. So Youth and Native Beauty being set off with all the Advantages of a soft and charming Dress, might well give occasion to his Admirers to compare him with the beautiful Images of *Bacchus*.

While he was sacrificing and dancing about the Altars, according to the barbarous Rites of the Country, with Flutes, Pipes, and all sorts of Musical Instruments, all the People, but especially the Soldiers, took a stricter View of him than ordinary, either because they knew he was of the Imperial Line, or the Charms of his Beauty drew the Eyes of all Men upon him. There was at that time a great Army near the Town, that lay there to cover *Phœnicia*, but was afterwards commanded away, as shall be

be related in due time. The Soldiers came every day to Town, and to the Temple for the sake of Divine Worship, and were wonderfully pleas'd with seeing the Lad. Some of these were *Mæsa's* Acquaintance, that were fled from *Rome*, amongst whom she whisper'd, when she perceiv'd how much they admir'd the Youth, *That he was Antonine's Natural Son, tho' he was reputed another Man's*: *That when she liv'd at Court in her Sisters Time, the said Emperor had Intrigues with her Daughters, that were then young and handsom.* Whether this was true, or only an Artifice, remains uncertain; but however it was, as soon as they got hold of this Report, they handed it from one Soldier to another, till it was publish'd through the whole Army. It was also given out, *That Mæsa had a prodigious Fond of Money, and that she would freely distribute it amongst them, provided they would re-establish her Family in the Empire.* Hereupon it was concerted, *That if she would come privately by Night to the Camp with her Family, they would receive her,*

her, and proclaim the Son of Antonine Emperor. Which was no sooner propos'd to the old Lady, but she determin'd instantly to put her self into their Hands, being resolv'd to run any Risque, rather than live privately, and be thus neglected. Pursuant to these Counsels, she got out of the City privately with her Daughters and Grand-children, and was conducted by the said Soldiers of her Acquaintance that were fled from *Rome*, to the Fortifications of the Camp, where she easily gain'd Admittance; and the Question being put, the Soldiers were all unanimous, that their young Emperor should be called *Antonine*: After which, they put upon him Purple Robes. Then they laid in Provisions, and took in their Wives and Children, and all their Effects that were in the adjacent Country or Villages, and shutting up their Gates, began to put themselves into a Posture of Defence, so as to endure a formal Siege, if Occasion should require.

Macrinus receiv'd Advertisement here-of when he was in *Antioch*; and the News was carried to all the other Armies, that a Son was found to *Antonine*, and that *Julia's* Sister distributed Money to the Soldiers. They took Things upon trust, and thought every Thing true that was related to them for such, and were in great uncertainty of Mind. Their Disaffection to *Macrinus*, and a kind of Compassion which they had for the Memory of *Antonine*, were of some force to make them desire a Revolution; but the Hopes of Gain had the greatest weight, and influenc'd great Numbers to fly over to the new *Antonine*.

Macrinus look'd upon all this as a Childish Enterprize, and retaining his usual gaiety of Temper, staid at home, and sent *Julian*, one of his Generals, with a sufficient Force, as he thought, to reduce the Rebels; who no sooner approach'd their Walls, but they shew'd their young Emperor upon the Turrets and Ramparts, and shouted aloud, *Behold*

bold the Son of Antonine! They also held up Bags full of Money, well understanding, that nothing was a more effectual Bait to tempt Traytors. And so it hapned; for *Julian's* Soldiers easily believ'd he was *Antonine's* Son, and persuading themselves that he extremely resembled him, cut off *Julian's* Head, and sent it to *Macrinus*, and were receiv'd with open Gates into the Camp. After this Reinforcement, the Rebels were in Condition not only to hold out a Siege, but to engage in a pitch'd Battel: Their Numbers also encreas'd every Day, by Deserters that came over to them.

As soon as *Macrinus* receiv'd Advice of this Disaster, he appointed a general Muster of his Forces, and advanc'd with his whole Army against the Rebels, resolving to force their Trenches. *Antonine* found that his Soldiers would not stay to be attack'd in their Camp, but were ready to march out against *Macrinus*, and give him Battel: So he drew his whole Force out into the Field. The Engagement was in the Confines of

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Syria

Syria and Phœnicia. Antonine's Soldiers were alarm'd by the Fears of Punishment for their traiterous Practices, in case they should be vanquish'd, and therefore they exerted their utmost Vigour ; but *Macrinus*'s Men fought more lazily, great Numbers deserting, and going over to the Rebels ; insomuch that *Macrinus* fearing lest they should all abandon him, and he should be made Prisoner by the Rebels, and apprehending that his Usage would not be the best if he should fall into their Hands, when it was almost Night, and his Soldiers yet maintain'd the Fight, he threw off his Imperial Cloak, and all the other Badges of Majesty, and fled, being accompanied only by a few Captains, whom he esteem'd the most faithful to his Interests. He shav'd his Beard, that he might not be discover'd, and putting himself in travelling Equipage, he post-ed both Night and Day with his Head cover'd, preventing even the Fame of his bad Fortune. The Captains were very diligent in pressing the Coaches, as if

if *Macrinus* had still been Emperor, and they had been sent on some important Dispatches.

Thus *Macrinus* escap'd : The Engagement continu'd ; the *Prætorian* Band, which is a select Number of the tallest Men, chosen out of the whole Army to guard the Emperor's Person, maintain'd their Ground, and sustain'd the Fury of all the Enemies Forces ; the rest were all for *Antonine*. But when *Macrinus* had not been seen of a long time, nor any Ensigns of Imperial Majesty could be descry'd, and his Men knew not what was become of him, whether he was slain or fled, they were in great uncertainty what Measures to take, but resolv'd at last to hazard themselves no longer for a Man that was no where to be found ; and yet they were afraid to render themselves, and be cast on the Faith of the Enemy. As soon as *Antonine* understood by Deserters that *Macrinus* was fled, he sent Heralds to signifie to his Men, *That it was in vain to fight for a Coward and a Fugitive* ; and offer'd

them a Pardon and Oblivion of what was past, and swore he would observe it, and constituted them his Life-guard. They accepted the Terms, and submitted: Whereupon *Antonine* sent out a Detachment to pursue *Macrinus*, who was got a considerable way before them. They found him at *Chalcedon*, a City of *Bithynia*, extremely indispos'd by the Fatigue of so long a Journey, and took him in his Concealment in a Country-house near the City, and beheaded him. 'Twas said, he was making what haste he could to *Rome*, in confidence of the Zeal and Affections of the Populace; but as he was passing over the *Propontis* into *Europe*, he was forc'd back by contrary Gusts when he was near *Byzantium*, even the Winds conspiring to draw him back to his Destruction. So near he was escaping his Pursuers. He died most infamously. He would have gone to *Rome* now, when it was too late; whereas he ought to have done it as soon as he was declar'd Emperor. Thus fell *Macrinus*, both his Fortunes and his Counsels

Counsels failing him, together with his Son *Diadumenianus*, whom he had made *Cesar*.

After this, the whole Army came over to *Antonine*, and own'd him Emperor: So he took upon him the Supreme Authority, and his Grandmother, with the Assistance of her Friends, made such Regulations in the East as the State of Affairs did most require, (for the Emperor was very young, and unskilful in Business and Letters) after which the Army was presently commanded to march, *Mæsa* being impatient to visit the *Roman* Court, where she had liv'd so long.

As soon as these Things were notified to the *Roman* People and Senate, they were by no means satisfied; but the Necessity of Affairs determin'd them to a Submission to what the Army had been pleas'd to ordain. Nevertheless, all Men condemn'd *Macrinus*'s Remissness, and his loose and dissolute Manners, and look'd upon him as the sole Author of his own Miseries.

Antonine march'd out of Syria, and the Season of the Year oblig'd him to Winter in Nicomedia. Here he ran into the most prodigious Riots and Excesses, turn'd the Worship of his God into a Scene of Buffoonry, was beyond measure luxurious in his Clothes, wore Purple Silks flower'd with Gold, and was always nicely deck'd with Jewels, Bracelets, and Coronets made in the Fashion of a Turban, and embellish'd with Gold and great Variety of Precious Stones. His Habit was between the Sacred Robe of the Phœnicians, and the soft Apparel of the Medes. He scorn'd the Attire of the Greeks and Romans, because it was made of Cloth, which he us'd to term a vile Manufacture. Nothing would please him but Syrian Silks, in which he often appear'd abroad with a Consort of Flutes and Pipes, to celebrate the Orgies of his God.

This Conduct of his did not please *Mæsa* by any Means; she laid out her utmost Efforts to reconcile him to the Roman Habit, and remonstrated to him,

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if he should enter the City and Senate in that Garb, how offensive it would be to the Romans, who are not accustom'd to these Fopperies, esteeming them unworthy of a Man, and tolerable only in the weaker Sex. But he took little notice of what she said, nor would hearken to any Lectures that were read to him upon that Subject by any body else: For he admitted none into any degree of Intimacy but Flatterers, and Men of his own Morals, that would make no scruple to extol even the worst of his Vices. Moreover he resolv'd to use the Senate and People of *Rome* to the Sight of his Garb, and try how they would bear it, before he came amongst them; and to this end caus'd his Picture to be taken at length in all his Formalities, in which he appear'd in Publick, or when he sacrific'd. His God was represented in the same Piece, and he was drawn sacrificing to him. This Draught he sent to *Rome*, and order'd it to be plac'd in the middle of the Senate, above the Image of Victory, in the highest part of the House,

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that

that when the Senators were assembled, they might offer Incense and sacrifice Wine to it. He also gave out Injunctions, that all the *Roman* Magistrates, and such as perform'd Publick Sacrifices, should invoke their new God *Helio-gabul*, before any other God ordinarily mention'd at those Solemnities.

When he arriv'd at *Rome*, the People were not much startled at the Original, having been so well us'd to the Copy. Here he threw a Largess amongst the People, as is ordinary for Emperors upon their Accession to the Crown, and exhibited Shews of all sorts with great Magnificence. Then he built a large and beautiful Temple for his God, and commanded a great many Altars to be rais'd about it, on which he sacrific'd every Day Hecatombs of Bulls, and great Numbers of Sheep. He heap'd Spices upon them, and pour'd out many Casks of the oldest and best Wine, insomuch that Streams of Wine mix'd with Blood ran all over the Temple. After this he fell to dancing about the

Altars,

Altars, to a Consort of all sort of Musical Instruments, and the *Phænician* Women fell in with him, and tript it about with Cymbals and Timbrels in their Hands. During this Solemnyty, the Senators and Gentry of *Rome* stood about him in the form of a Theater. The In-trails of the Victims, and the Spices, were carried in Vessels of Gold, upon the Heads, not of Servants, or Men of mean Condition, but of his Generals, and of Persons in the most honourable Employments, that were habiced after the *Phænician* Fashion, in Robes that came down to their Hands and Feet, and wore Linen Shooes, in imitation of the Prophets of those Countries. He thought he conferr'd a signal Honour on those whom he permitted to assist at those Solemnities.

Tho' the Emperor seem'd thus entirely devoted to a Humour of Dancing and Sacrificing, yet he put to death several rich and eminent Men, who, as he was inform'd, dislik'd his Course of Life, and had presum'd to make him the

the Subject of their Raillery. He took to Wife a Lady of the most Illustrious Quality amongst the *Romans*, but divorc'd her soon after, divested her of all Imperial Honours, and confin'd her to a private Sphere. Afterwards, that his Actions might have something of the Man in them, pretending to be mightily in love with a Vestal Priestess, that by the Sacred Constitutions of the *Romans* is oblig'd to perpetual Chastity, he took her by force out of the Temple, and married her: But that it might be done with as good a Grace as the Thing would bear, he wrote to the Senate, to extenuate the Guilt of an Action which was in it self so Criminal: The Substance of his Apology was, *That Humane Frailty had betray'd him into the Sin; that his Passion for the Maid was extreme; however, no Match could be more congruous or sacred, than that of a Priest with a Priestess.* Not long after he divorc'd this Wife also, and married for his third a Lady of *Commodus's* Family.

Nor

Nor did he only play at Fast and Loose with Humane Matrimonies, but was now seeking out for a Wife to his God. So he remov'd the Image of *Pallas*, (which the *Romans* worship, but are not allow'd to see) into his Bed-chamber. It had never been mov'd since it was brought from *Troy*, but once when the Temple was in a Flame, till now it was fetch'd into the Imperial Palace in order to be married. But afterward the Emperor reported, *That his God had no great Affection for such an arm'd Virago;* and therefore he sent for the Image of *Urania*, which is held in great Veneration by the *Carthaginians*, and all the Nations of *Africk*. It is suppos'd to be erected by the *Phœnician Dido*, when she founded *Carthage* on the Ground which she encompass'd with the Bull's Hide. The *Africans* call it *Urania*, and the *Phœnicians*, *Astroarch*, or the *Moon*: Whereupon the Emperor remark'd, *That the Match would be very suitable between the Sun and Moon;* and commanded the Image to be brought to

to *Rome*, with all the rich Ornaments of the Temple, and a very considerable Treasure, which he order'd to be given with the Goddess as her Portion. Upon her arrival she was plac'd at a small Distance from the God, and the Emperor issu'd out Orders to the People in *Rome* and *Italy*, to celebrate a Festival, with all the Demonstrations of Joy, publick and private, for the Marriage of the Gods. He built also a large and magnificent Temple near the City, whither he made an Anniversary Procession with his God about Midsummer. He exhibited all sorts of Publick Entertainments, as Stage-plays, Chariot-races, Banquets, &c. which he thought were of a popular Nature, and serv'd to amuse the Multitude. The Procession was in this manner. The God was seated in a Chariot richly adorn'd with Gold and Precious Stones; in this he was carried out of the City, with great Solemnity, to the Temple. The Chariot was drawn by Six white Horses, that were above the ordinary Proportion, and

and richly accouter'd: The God held the Reins. No Mortal ever sat in the Chariot, but all stood around and attended the Divine Charioteer. The Emperor held the Bridle, and ran all the way backward, keeping his Eyes fix'd upon the Image. The Way was strow'd with Filings of Gold, and he was supported by Soldiers on both Sides, to prevent his falling or stumbling, his Eyes being so engag'd, that he could not see his Way. The People ran on each Side with Torches, Flowers, and Garlands. Then came the Images of all the Gods, with all the Ensigns of Imperial Majesty, and the richest Furniture of the Palace, and the most magnificent Ornaments of the Temple. All the Gentry of *Rome*, and the whole Army, march'd before the God with solemn Pace, and conducted him to the Temple, where when he was plac'd, and the Sacrifices and Solemnities whereof we have before made mention were perform'd, the Emperor from vastly high Turrets, erected there by his Direction, scatter'd, by way of

of Largeſs amongst the Multitude, Tickets for Goblets of Gold and Silver, for Clothes and Linen of all ſorts, for all Kinds of Beasts, wild and tame, except Hogs, from which he abſtain'd in conformity to the *Phœniciān* Customs. Great Numbers periſh'd in the ſcrambling for theſe Tickets, being trod to death in the Crowd, or push'd upon the Spears of the Soldiers; ſo that it prov'd a fatal Festival to many. He often danc'd and drove in Publick, diſdain'd to cloack his Follies, and appear'd abroad with his Eyes and Cheeks painted, diſfiguring that Beauty which Nature had beſtow'd upon him, by an uncomely Varniſh.

Mesa in this *interim* obſerv'd how much the Soldiers were diſgusted with the Extravagances of their Prince; and fearing, if any thing ſhould befall him, that ſhe ſhould be forc'd to relapſe into her private Condition, ſhe perfwaded the light headed Youth to adopt *Mammæa*'s Son, that was his Cousin-german, and her Grandſon, and declare him *Cæſar*.

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To compaſs which, ſhe accoſted him with a cajolling Harangue, wherein ſhe repreſented to him, how ſuitable it would be to his Character to attend Religious Rites and Ceremonies, to perform the Functions of his Office, and aſſit at the Worſhip and Adoration of his God; that in the mean time ſome Person ſhould be impoſer'd to take care of the Civil Government, to take from him the Burden of a Crown, and free him from the Avocations which the Affairs of the Empire might otherwiſe give him; and that this Trust ought rather to be committed to an Ally and a Relation, than to a Stranger. Hereupon *Alexian* was alter'd into *Alexander*, the Name of that renoun'd *Macedonian* who was ſo highly eſteem'd and honour'd by *Antonine*, the ſuppoſ'd Father of both theſe Princes: For both *Mesa* and her Daughters, with a ſort of Pride and Vanity, publish'd their unlaуful Amours with him, to inflame the Affections of the Soldiers to their Sons. So *Alexander* was declar'd *Cæſar*, and join'd with *Antonine* in the *Conſulate*, after which he enter'd into the Senate, and this

this Matter was ratified by the Authority of that Assembly. The Point was carried without any Opposition, all Men concurring in the Decree, tho' nothing could be more ridiculous and absurd, *Antonine*, who was only Sixteen Years old, being made Father to *Alexander*, who was then in his Twelfth Year, by virtue thereof.

No sooner was he declar'd *Cæsar*, but *Antonine* had a mind to train him up in his own Method: He would have him dance, and bear a Share in the Priest's Office, wear the same Habit, and do the same Thing that he did: But his Mother had an Eye upon him, and restrain'd him from all Indecencies that might ill beseem a Man in his Station, sent privately for Masters in all Sorts of Learning, infus'd into him honest and sober Notions and Principles, accustom'd him to Wrestling, and other manly Exercises, and instructed him in the *Greek* and *Latin* Learning.

These Things highly offended *Antonine*, insomuch that he repented that he had

had adopted him, and made him his Colleague. He commanded all his Masters instantly to depart the Court, some of the most eminent he put to death, others he banish'd, ridiculously alledging for Reasons to justify these Severities, *That they corrupted his Son, that they would not suffer him to dance and revel, that they ty'd him up to Modesty of Behaviour, and instructed him in Manly Duties.* Yea, his Infatuation ran so high, that he advanc'd Stage-players and common Actors to the highest Dignities in the Empire. He gave the Command of the *Prætorian* Band to one that had danc'd publickly on the Theater; he took another from the Stage to superintend the Education of Youth, and to approve and admit such as were elected into the Order of Gentlemen or Senators. He committed to Chariot-drivers, Comedians, and Buffoons, the Execution of the most important Trusts in the Government, and gave the Lieutenancy of Provinces to such of his Slaves and Freed-men as had the greatest Vices to recommend them.

them. These Things bred Discontents and ill Humours in the People, but especially the Soldiers; they despis'd him for his Niceness in adjusting the Air of his Face, which was such as a Woman could not be guilty of, without forfeiting her Claim to Modesty. He wore Necklaces of Gold; his Clothes and Garniture were wonderfully effeminate; and thus attir'd, he danc'd frequently in Publick. So the Army and People were alienated from him, and bias'd strongly in favour of *Alexander*. They conceiv'd greater Hopes in a Youth that was soberly and virtuously educated, and guarded him with great diligence, to defeat the Practices set afoot by his Brother against his Life. His Mother *Mammæa* would not suffer him to eat or drink any thing that was sent to him from that Hand. He did not make use of the Cooks and Butlers that ordinarily serv'd the Court, but of such as his Mother made choice of, after manifold Proofs of their Fidelity. She also sent Money to be distributed privately amongst the

Soldiers,

Soldiers, to minister Fuel to their present Zeal for *Alexander*, and to link them to his Interests by Money, the Spring which gives Life to their most vigorous Motions.

Antonine had Intimations of all these Things, and left no Stone unturn'd to accomplish the Ruine of *Alexander* and his Mother; but *Mesa* manag'd Matters with that Dexterity, that he miscarried in all his Designs against them. She was a Woman of a subtil Brain, and had liv'd many Years at Court with her Sister *Julia*, Wife to *Severus*, and was now let into all *Antonine*'s Intrigues, who was naturally shallow, and still discovering himself, and betraying his own Counsels.

When he found that all his Projects to ruine his Brother fell to the Ground without effect, he resolv'd to take from him the Title and Dignity of *Cæsar*, and would not suffer him to be complimented, nor permit any Respect to be paid him in Publick. The Soldiers enquir'd diligently after him, and murmur'd ex-

tremely at his Disgrace. So *Antonine* spread a Report that he lay at the point of Death, to try how the Army would take it ; which gave a deep Wound to them, especially when he was no where to be found, and put them in so violent a Rage, that they refus'd to send the ordinary Guards to the Emperor, but shut themselves up in the Camp, and sent their Demands to Court, requiring a View of *Alexander* in the Temple. This infinitely alarm'd *Antonine*, so that without delay he took his Brother with him in his Imperial Chariot, that was richly adorn'd with Gold and Precious Stones, and drove with great haste to the Camp. The Soldiers receiv'd them both with open Gates, and conducted them to the Temple in the Camp ; and *Alexander* was extravagantly caref's'd by the whole Army, and receiv'd with Shouts of Joy ; but *Antonine* was treat'd with Coldnels and Neglect. This struck him to the Heart ; so lodging that Night in the Temple of the Camp, and being not able to brook the Indignity,

he commanded the Men who had been the most forward in bestowing their Applauses upon *Alexander* to be seiz'd upon, as the Authors of a Sedition and a Riot, in order to be brought to condign Punishment. This begot a general Resentment in the Army ; they hated *Antonine* on a Foreign Score, and had long wish'd that an end could be put to his infamous Deportment ; they also thought themselves bound in Honour to rescue their Companions that were under Arrest ; and at this time they seem'd to have just Grounds, and a favourable Opportunity to effect what they desir'd. So they kill'd *Antonine* and his Mother, who was there present, by reason of her Character and Alliance to the Emperor, and massacred all the Tools and Instruments of his Villainies, that were then assembled in the Camp. The dead Bodies of *Antonine* and his Mother were deliver'd over to the Scorn and Indignities of the Mob, who after they had mangled and dragg'd them contemptuously about the City, threw them into

the Common Sewers that discharge themselves into the *Tyber*.

Thus fell *Antonine*, after he had reign'd Six Years, and liv'd as we have related. Then the Army proceeded to proclaim *Alexander* Emperor, and conducted him to the Imperial Palace, being very young, and remaining as yet under the Care and Tuition of his Mother and Grandmother.

A N

A N
E P I T O M E
O F T H E
Sixth Book.

SEverus *Alexander* remains under the Care of his Mother and Grandmother, and administers the Empire with great Moderation. He has a Council appointed of grave Men, chosen out of the Senate, by whose Advice and Assistance all Things as well Sacred as Profane, are restor'd to their former State and Condition. Then he marries a Lady of Noble Birth, and divorces her soon after, being influenc'd in this Proceeding by his Mother, whom in all Things he obey'd. Afterwards *Artabanus* King of Persia stirs up a Quarrel, and Embassies are sent to and fro, but without Effect. So he

marches an Army into Asia, and dividing his Forces into Three Parties, enters the Enemies Country ; and after great Losses and Misfortunes, returns to Antioch : From whence he is call'd back suddenly to oppose the Germans, who had pass'd the Rhine and Danube, and were entring in Hostile manner the Roman Territory ; but meeting here with the like ill Fortune, he is kill'd by the Soldiers, and Maximine, a Man of great Military Skill, who then commanded the New Levies, is elected in his Room.

The Sixth Book.

THe Account of *Antonine's Death* is deliver'd in the former Book : After which *Alexander* assum'd the Title of Emperor, and appear'd in the Imperial Robes ; but the Regency and Conduct of Publick Affairs was in the Hands of the Women. They endeavour'd a Reformation of all Abuses, and to put all Things in a more prudent and regular

lar Course than they had been in the late Reign. And to this end, in the first place, they made choice of Sixteen of the most aged Men in the Senate, and such as were in the greatest Reputation for Integrity and Probity of Manners, who were to compose the young Emperor's Privy-Council, and nothing was said or done without their Concurrence and Approbation. This Change in the Form of Government gave general Satisfaction to the Army, Populace, and Senate, a sort of *Aristocracy* being introduc'd in the room of *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary Power*. Then they restor'd the Images of the Gods, that had been remov'd by *Antonine*, to their respective Temples and Fanes : And all those that had in the late Reign been advanc'd undeservedly, or upon the bare Recommendations of their Vices, to Honours and Dignities, were turn'd out, and order'd to betake themselves to their former Mysteries and Vocations. All Civil Offices, and Employments appertaining to the Law, were fill'd with Men

Men famous for their Learning and Eminency in that Knowledge; and Offices Military were bestow'd on Captains of the greatest Experience in the Art of War.

Thus was the Empire administred for a long time, when *Mesa* having arriv'd to a great Age departed this Life. Her Funeral was solemniz'd with Imperial Ceremonies, and she was Deified according to the *Roman* Custom.

Mammæa seeing the sole Guardianship of her Son devolv'd upon her self, endeavour'd to bear the same Sway, and govern him still by the same Measures: But now he had the Authority of the Government in his Hand, she was afraid lest being then in the Heat of Youth, and conscious of his own unlimited Power, he might be push'd on to some Vices and Irregularities incident to his Blood and Family, and therefore set a strong Guard about the Court, and would not permit any Person to come near him that was censur'd for any Immorality in his Conversation, for fear they

they should debauch his native Innocence, and spur on Nature, now he was vegete and young, to dishonest Passions and Appetites. She advis'd him to attend principally the Administration of Justice, and to set apart the best Portion of his Time for the Discharge of that Trust, that being employ'd about greater Affairs, and more important to the Publick Welfare, he might not have leisure to pursue vain and sinful Amusements.

Alexander had a mild and benign Nature, disposing him always to Humanity and Compassion, which was manifested in the ensuing Course of his Life. His Government was so gentle, that in Fourteen Years not one Man was put to death, tho' many were convicted of Crimes of the highest Nature. He would never proceed to Capital Punishments; a Clemency so exemplary, that never any Prince since *Marcus* came up to it; and I'm confident no Man can affirm, that in the whole Course of his Reign (tho' it continu'd many Years) any Man suffer'd

suffer'd Death without a fair and legal Trial.

He censur'd his Mother extremely, and was highly offended at her unmeasurable Covetousness, and indecent Zeal in heaping up Money ; for she pretended to act in this Matter with a different View from what she did, (*viz.*) that the Emperor might never find his Exchequer unfurnish'd, whenever he had an Occasion to distribute Munificences amongst the Soldiers ; whereas she was laying in a private Fund for her self at home. This cast a great Blemish upon his Government, that a Woman should presume to pillage the Subject, and make Invasions on their Property , notwithstanding the Emperor disapprov'd, and in his own Judgment oppos'd it.

About this time *Mammæa* marry'd her Son to a *Roman* Lady of high Birth, whom she afterwards by insupportable Usage constrain'd to leave the Court, tho' she was passionately belov'd by the Emperor. She affected the Title of Sole Empress, and envy'd her a Share in that Honour,

Honour , and proceeded at length to those Outrages, that the Father of the young Empress, who was then in great Esteem and Credit with the Emperor, impatient of the Injuries with which she loaded both himself and his Daughter, retir'd from the Court to the Camp, where he made publick Acknowledgments of the great Respect which had been always paid him by the Emperor, but complain'd of the insolent Deportment of *Mammæa* ; which exasperated her to that degree , that she instantly gave out Orders to put him to death, commanded his Daughter to depart the Court, and banish'd her into *Africk*. *Alexander* acted in this Affair by Compulsion, contrary to his own Judgment and Inclination ; for so arbitrary was *Mammæa*, and so absolute an Ascendant had she over him, that he render'd an universal Obedience to all her Commands.

This Easiness and Obsequiousness to his Mother, even to a Crime, in Things which he manifestly dislik'd , was the only

only Thing for which this Prince could justly be blamed.

Having thus for Thirteen Years (as to what respected himself) administer'd the Empire so as not to afford Subject of Complaint, in the Fourteenth Year of his Reign there came Letters from the Praefects of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, with the following Advices, viz. That Artaxerxes King of Persia having conquer'd Parthia, and subdu'd the Kingdoms of the East, and kill'd the Great King Artabanus, (who was the first that had bore that Title, and wore a double Diadem) had reduc'd under his Dominion all the Barbarous Nations on that Side, and made them Tributary; and not being content with his Acquisitions on the other Side the Tigris, had pass'd the River, made an Impression upon the Roman Frontiers, over-run Mesopotamia, threaten'd Syria, and all the Continent that lies opposite to Europe, which is call'd Asia, and is bounded by the Propontis and the Ægean; pretending, that these vast Tracts were the Possessions of his Ancestors, and as such he would re-unite them

them to the Persian Empire: And farther setting forth, That from the Reign of Cyrus, who first translated the Empire from the Medes to the Persians, to the Times of Darius, who was vanquish'd and depos'd by the Macedonian Arms, all those Countries as far as Ionia and Caria were govern'd by Persian Vice-Roys; and that he esteem'd himself in Honour bound to cause Restitution to be made of all the ancient Dependences of the Persian Empire.

This unexpected News extremely alarm'd Alexander, who had been bred up in the Softness and Luxury of *Rome*, and had enjoy'd hitherto an uninterrupted Calm: However, his Council was conven'd, and he communicated to them his Intelligence; whereupon it was resolv'd, that Ambassadors should be dispatch'd with Letters, which 'twas believ'd would check the Hopes and Attempts of these Barbarous Invaders.

In pursuance of these Resolutions, Letters were sent, purporting, That they ought to content themselves with their own Territories, and not endeavour to enlarge them

them by new Conquests ; that they should not suffer themselves to be lift up by vain Hopes, to engage in a War with a powerful Enemy ; that they could not expect the like fortunate Issue of their Combates with the Romans, which they had found against their Barbarous Neighbours ; and reminded them withal of the Victories heretofore obtain'd over them by *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Lucius*, and *Severus*. These Letters the Emperor thought would either perswade or terrifie the Barbarian into a Disposition to be quiet ; but they made no Impression upon him. *Ax**t**axerxes* thought it was not Words but the Sword must do his Businels, and therefore he push'd on the War with greater vigour, spoiling and wasting all the *Roman* Territory. *Mesopotamia* he ravag'd both with his Foot and Cavalry, and began to carry off the Plunder, attack'd the *Roman* Camps which were pitch'd on the Banks of the Rivers, to cover the Frontiers of the Empire ; and being naturally arrogant, and at this time elevated by his late unexpected Successes, he thought easily

easily to surmount all Opposition. Many and weighty Motives conspir'd to make him desire an Elargement of his Empire : He was the first that had dar'd to make a War on the *Parthians*, and had after a long Interval retriev'd the *Persian* Monarchy : For after the Overthrow of *Darius* by the Arms of *Macedon*, the *Macedonians*, and those that succeeded *Alexander* for a long Series of Time, shar'd *Asia* and the Kingdoms of the East among themselves, exercis-ing Regal Authority in their respective Territories, until *Arfaces* the *Parthian*, taking advantage of their Animosities and frequent Wars, by which the *Macedonian* Force was considerably weakned, perswaded the Barbarians on that Side to a general Revolt, and was elected their Ruler by the unanimous Consent of *Parthia* and the adjoining Countries ; and accordingly he reign'd over them, and his Empire continu'd in his Family for several Ages, descending in an uninterrupted Course of Succession, till it devolv'd on *Artabanus*, who lived in our

Times: So *Artaxerxes* having slain this *Artabanus*, and re-established the *Persian* Monarchy, and subdu'd all his Barbarous Neighbours, had opened an easie Passage for his Forces to assaile the *Roman* Empire.

Alexander being in *Rome*, was advertis'd of the Hostilities committed by the Barbarians, and their Insolence, which was now insupportable even in his own Judgment; and being pres'd by the Instances of his Generals in those Parts, began to put all Things in readiness for an Expedition against them, tho' with some Reluctancy, and after much struggling with his natural Aversions to a War. Accordingly he proceeded to make his Levies in *Italy*, and all the Provinces of the Empire, requiring all Men whom Age or Habit of Body had not rendred uncapable, to enter into his Service. So Musters were made with great Vigour and Application throughout the whole Empire, to raise an Army sufficient to cope with the Barbarian Force; and *Alexander* having given out Orders

Orders for the *Prætorian* Soldiers to assemble in the Field, delivered himself to them in the following Speech, from a Throne there erected.

ALEXANDER'S SPEECH.

I Could wish, Gentlemen, that what I'm going to say to you might produce the same happy Effects which my Speeches have hitherto done, that it might redound to the Reputation of the Speaker, and give universal Satisfaction to those that hear me. 'Tis possible that after so long a Peace, you may be startled at the News of an unexpected War: But 'tis the Part of Wise and Valiant Men to wish for the best, but to bear what happens, and acquiesce under all the Dispensations of Heaven. Pleasure is sweet in the Enjoyment, but Glory's the Reward of Vertue. As he that offers an Injury, must needs be sensible of it, and feel Remorses within himself; so he that repels an unlawful Aggressor, is animated by his Conscience, and the Goodness of his Cause gives him the strongest Assurance of Success. *Artax-*

rexes having murder'd Artabanus, his Royal Lord and Master, contemns the Terror of our Arms, and the Glory of our Empire, and openly spoils and ravages our Provinces. I first essay'd by Reasoning and Debate to divert him from this insatiate Madness, and exhorted him to be content with his own Possessions, for which end I sent Letters to him; but he, out of the abundance of his barbarous Arrogance, disdains to stay within his own Territories, but defies us, and provokes us to a Battel. 'Tis my Opinion clearly, that we advance against them with all possible speed. To the Veterans among you my Advice is, That you reflect upon the Conquests you have gain'd over them under the Conduct of Severus and my Father Antonine: And you that are in the Flower of your Youth, cherish, I exhort you, the generous Thirst of Fame and Glory, and make it apparent to the World, that you can be as brave Soldiers in the Action of War, as you have been good Subjects in the Leisures of Peace. The Courage of the Barbarians encreases and declines in proportion to the Cowardice and Bravery of their Enemies. If these fly,

they pursue; but never support the Shocks of a gallant Army, that attacks them with vigour; for they dare not hope for Success in a Pitch'd Battel, but make sudden Inroads and Ravages, and content themselves to carry off the Plunder of the Countries they invade: And we have the Advantage of them, not only in Order and Discipline of our Armies, but in that we have been train'd up in a constant Course of Victories over them.

When he had concluded his Harangue, all the Soldiers express'd their forward Dispositions to the War, by their Acclamations, which were very unanimous on this Occasion. Then he distributed a magnificent Donative amongst them, and commanded all Things to be put in posture for a March. After that, he went into the Senate, and made a Speech, much the same in Substance with what he had spoke before, and signified his Pleasure as to the Day when he would begin his March. When the Day was come, he

perform'd the Sacrifices customary upon the undertaking any Expedition, and parted from *Rome*, being accompanied by the Senate and People of *Rome* in full Body. He often look'd back upon the City with Tears in his Eyes; nor was there any of his Subjects but was in grief upon his Departure: For he was universally belov'd by the Populace, in regard he had been educated among them, and had govern'd so many Years with so much Gentleness.

Having perform'd his March, which he did with incredible Diligence, he review'd the *Illyrian* Army and Country; after which he rais'd a considerable Force in those Parts, and retir'd to *Antioch*, where he made Provision of all Things necessary for a War, exercising his Soldiers, and discharging all the Duties of a General. However, he thought it advisable to send a second Embassie to the *Persian*, to make Overtures of an Accommodation. He imagin'd the Terror of his Presence would influence him to close with his Offers. But *Artaxerxes*

taxerxes would hearken to no Proposals that were made: So the *Roman* Ambassadors return'd to their Camp; and *Artaxerxes* made choice of Four hundred of the tallest Men in his Army, whom he dispatch'd to *Alexander* with the Character of his Envoys. They were richly and splendidly attir'd, well mounted, and armed with Bows and Arrows, to the end the *Romans* might be terrified by the Garb and August Presence of the *Persians*. Their Instructions were, to require the *Roman Emperor and People, in the Name of the Great Artaxerxes, from thenceforth to renounce all Claim and Title to Syria, and that Part of Asia which lies opposite to Europe, and to suffer the Persians quietly and peaceably to exercise Dominion as far as Ionia and Caria, and over all the Countries that are divided by the Ægean and Pontick Seas, being the ancient Possessions of the Crown of Persia.*

After the Ambassadors had made their Demands, *Alexander* commanded them all to be arrested, and divesting them of their Splendor, sent them away into

Phrygia, where he assign'd them Houses to inhabit, and Lands to manure ; for he would not inflict any farther Penalty than the prohibiting them to return home , looking upon it as a manifest Breach of the Laws of Honour and Natural Justice, to put them to death, being no Prisoners of War, and having done nothing but in Execution of their Royal Master's Injunctions.

These Measures being taken, *Alexander* prepar'd to pass the River , and carry the War into the Enemies Country ; at which time some *Ægyptian* Soldiers revolted, and a Plot was set on foot in *Syria*, that threaten'd a Revolution in the Empire ; but was happily defeated, and the Conspirators punish'd : After which he detach'd several strong Parties into other Countries, to restrain the Incursions of the Barbarians in those Parts.

Things being in this Posture, and the *Roman* Army very numerous, and not inferior to the Enemies, the Emperor call'd a Council of War, and the Re-

sult

sult was, That the Army should be divided into Three Parties : The First was commanded to march to the Northward, through *Armenia*, which Country was in League with the *Romans*, and to make a Descent upon *Media* on that Side. The Second was also command-ed Northward ; but they were order'd to direct their March through the Ene-mies Country where *Tygris* and *Euphra-tes* meet, and are swallow'd up in vast Pools and Lakes, which gives occasion to an Opinion obtaining in the World, That 'tis unknown where those Rivers discharge themselves. The Third, and strongest of the Three, he undertook to lead in Person against the Enemy, and took the middle Road.

By this means he thought to amuse the Enemy , and surprize them before they were aware of, or had provided against any such Attempt. He thought too, the *Persians* receiving so many pow-erful Diversions from different Quarters, would be weaker and more irregular than if they advanc'd in an entire Body:

For

For the Barbarians have no Stipendiary Force, or Standing Army, that is kept in constant Pay, and practis'd in the Art of War; but all their Men, and, if the Occasion's more extraordinary, the Women too, upon the King's signifying his Pleasure to them, repair to a general Rendezvous. After the War they return home, receive no Pay, but content themselves with a Share in the Spoil of the Countries they invade. They use Bows and Horses, not only in Time of War, as the *Romans* do, but are bred up to it from their Childhood, and live by Hunting, and very seldom ungird their Quivers, or alight from their Horses, but make constant use of them either against their Enemies, or the Wild Beasts of the Country.

Alexander's Measures seeming now so wisely laid, as to promise almost certain Success, Fortune interpos'd to baffle Humane Policies. The Army that was order'd to march through *Armenia* pass'd with great difficulty the steep and rocky Mountains of the Country, (tho' they were

were favour'd by the Season of the Year) and made an Inroad into *Media*, where they burnt divers Villages, and laid waste the Country; whereof *Artaxerxes* being advertis'd, advanc'd against them with all his Strength, but could not drive them out of the Country, which being rough and mountainous, afforded firm Footing and easie Passage to the Infantry, but gave great Inconveniences to the Barbarians Horse.

About this time an Express arriv'd at *Artaxerxes's* Camp, with Advice that another *Roman* Army had invaded *Parthia* towards the East. This gave him great Jealousie, that as soon as they had ravag'd *Parthia*, which they might easily do, they would make an Impression into *Perseia*. Therefore leaving a Force sufficient, as he thought, to cover *Media*, he hastned with the gross of his Army to the Eastward.

The *Romans* finding no Opposition, and no Enemy appearing, were not so careful in their March as they might have been; they suppos'd that *Alexander* had

had fallen upon the Barbarians with his Army, which was the strongest and most numerous of the Three, and therefore thought there was no Occasion for hasty Marches, and look'd upon themselves as out of danger, not doubting but all the Armies were advancing to the general Rendezvous, where by Concert they were to re unite, and bring all the Booty and Prisoners they had taken in this Expedition. But *Alexander* disappointed them, and neither came in Person, as 'twas concerted, nor sent the Army. 'Tis uncertain whether his own natural Cowardice made him so unwilling to venture his Life in Defence of the Empire, or he was over-rul'd in this Affair by *Mammæa*. The Timorousness of a Woman, and the Fondness of a Mother, might influence her to do it; and 'tis well known she always endeavour'd to repress all generous Impulses in her Son, and still perswaded him rather to let others hazard themselves for him, than to expose his Sacred Person to the Chance of War. However it was,

was, it occasion'd the total Overthrow of the *Roman* Army that had enter'd the Enemies Country: For *Artaxerxes*, with the whole Power of his Kingdom, fell upon them by Surprize, and surrounded them, and galling them with Arrows from all Quarters, obtain'd an entire Victory: For he over-power'd them with his Numbers; it was all they could do to cover the naked Parts of their Bodies against the Enemies Arrows. So they contented themselves to be upon the defensive, and rather to preserve themselves than annoy the Enemy: But after they had defended themselves for a short space, by joining their Targets together, being attack'd on all Sides, like a beleaguer'd Town, at last, after a gallant Resistance, they were all cut to Pieces.

This was a fatal Stroke to the *Romans*, perhaps scarce parallell'd in Story; a gallant Army, not inferior to any of the most celebrated in former Ages, for Fidelity and Courage, cut off entirely, and as it were at one Blow. But the fortunate

fortunate Event of so considerable an Enterprize, animated the Barbarians to undertake greater.

The News of this Overthrow was brought to the Emperor when he was very ill, either through some Disease of Mind, or Indisposition of Body, occasion'd by the Climate, to which he was not accustom'd. It gave him great Mortification, and exasperated the whole Army against him, insomuch that they declar'd openly, that his Personal Mis-carriage in not coming up with his Army, pursuant to the Determination of the Council, had drawn this Calamity upon them. But *Alexander*, finding he could not any longer struggle with his Malady, which encreas'd upon him in that sultry Climate, and the greatest part of his Army being sick, especially the *Illyrians*, who dropp'd away in great Numbers, in regard they feed plentifully, and are us'd to a colder foggy Air, resolv'd to march back to *Antioch*; and Orders were sent to the Army in *Media* to return: But the greatest part perish'd in

in re-passing the Mountains, or were frozen to death by the Rigour of the Climate. *Alexander* led back the Remnant of his Army to *Antioch*; for he also had lost great Numbers of his Men. The Success of this Expedition bred great Discontents among the Soldiers, and sunk the Emperor's Reputation extremely in the Opinion of the World: He was baffled in all his Designs, and return'd home ingloriously, after he had lost the best part of three Armies by Cold, Sicknes, or the Sword.

After he arriv'd at *Antioch*, the change of Air soon restor'd his Health, and the cool Springs frequent in this City refresh'd him after the parching Heats of *Mesopotamia*. Here he gave a magnificent Largess to the Soldiers, to buoy up their Spirits under their present Affliction: For this he esteem'd the only Specifick to re-inflame their dying Zeal and Affection for his Interests. After this, he apply'd himself to the making new Levies, as if he intended a second Expedition against the *Perians*, in case they should

should give him any Disturbance: But News came that *Artaxerxes* had disbanded his Army, and commanded the Soldiers to repair to their respective Homes. And tho' in the Issue of the War the *Perians* seem'd to have the Advantage, yet their Forces were very much diminish'd by several Rencounters in *Parthia*; and of those Soldiers that surviv'd, many were wounded, and others extremely harrass'd and broken: For the *Romans* behav'd themselves very bravely, and made often great Slaughterers of the Enemy, and had vanquish'd them, had they not been over-power'd by their Numbers. Neither can the *Perians* pretend to have excell'd them in Personal Valour, the Number of the Slain on both Sides being very near equal: And their being so quiet for three or four Years after this Victory, amounts to a Demonstration, that their Losses were very considerable.

This News deliver'd the Emperor from his Fears, and he began to display a new Gaiety of Temper, threw aside

the

the Cares of War, and abandon'd himself to the Pleasures and Luxury of the Town. He thought the *Perians* would not again disturb his Repose, or at least it would be a long time before their disbanded Forces could re-assemble into an Army, in regard they don't consist of regular disciplin'd Troops, nor can they properly be term'd an Army, but are rather a disorderly Multitude; they have no Provisions, but what every Man carries from home, for his own Occasions; and besides, they are very unwilling to leave their Wives, Children, and Native Country. But while he was thinking of the *Perians*, there suddenly arriv'd a Courier from the Prefects of *Illyria*, with Letters for him, which put him into a greater Consternation. These brought advice, *That the Germans had pass'd the Rhine and Danube, and enter'd the Roman Territories in Hostile manner, had assail'd the Roman Camp upon the Danube, sack'd and plunder'd all the Cities and Villages in those Parts, whereby Illyria (that borders upon Italy) was in imminent*

Y

Danger;

Danger; concluding, *That in this Emergency of Affairs it would be requisite that he came in Person, with the whole Power of his Empire.*

These Advices exceedingly alarm'd the Emperor, and afforded Matter of great Regret and Grief to the *Illyrian* Soldiers. This was a second Calamity coming upon the Neck of a former. They had lost great Numbers of Men in the Expedition against the *Persians*, and now the *Germans* over-ran their Native Country. These Things put them into a violent Rage against the Emperor; for they charg'd the bad Success of the *Persian* Expedition wholly upon his ill Conduct, or his Fear; and now they accus'd his Slackness in succouring the *Illyrians*, as proceeding from the same base Passion. The Emperor and his Council began to apprehend that *Italy* was in danger. The *German* Invasion seem'd to be of far more dangerous Consequence to the Empire, than the *Persian*; for in distant Regions of the East, which are disjoin'd by a vast

Tract

Tract of Land and Sea, the Name of *Italy* is seldom heard; but *Germany* is only parted from *Italy* by *Illyria*, which contains but a small Spot of Ground, subject to the *Illyrians*. Therefore with great reluctance the Emperor proclaim'd his March, being driven to it by the Extremity of his Affairs; and leaving a Force sufficient for the Defence of the *Roman* Frontiers on that Side, he view'd the Camp and fortified Towns, repair'd their Fortifications, and put strong Garrisons into them out of his Army, and then advanc'd with the Remainder of his Forces against the *Germans*.

He perform'd his March with great Expedition, and encamp'd on the Banks of the *Rhine*, where he made Preparations for the War. He built a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, for the more easie passing his Army over that River. This River and the *Danube* are the greatest Rivers in the North. The *Rhine* runs through *Germany*, and the *Danube* through *Hungary*. They are very deep and broad, and in the Summer navi-
gable;

gable ; in the Winter, by reason of the extremity of the Cold, they are frozen so hard, that the People ride over them, as if they were part of the *Terra firma*. The Ice is so firm, that it not only bears Men and Horses, but those that come for Water don't bring Pails, or other Vessels, but Spades and Axes, with which they hew out the Water, and carry it away like a piece of a solid Rock. This is the Nature of those Rivers.

Alexander had great Numbers of *Moors* and Archers in his Service, which he brought with him out of the East ; they consisted mostly of the *Osroeni*, and *Parthian* Desercers, and such as were tempted to come over to them by hopes of Gain. These Men annoy'd the *Germans* the most of any. The *Moors* throw their Darts a prodigious way, and charge and retire with wonderful agility. The Archers would level at the naked Heads and Bodies of the over grown *Germans*, and seldom fail'd of hitting their Mark. Sometimes they came to a Pitch'd Bat-

tel,

tel, wherein the *Romans* could seldom get any Advantage. Things being in this Posture, *Alexander* sent Ambassadors to the Enemy to treat of a Peace, and to let them know, that the Emperor was willing to furnish them with whatever they wanted, and to supply them with Money, than which nothing has a more powerful Influence over the *Germans*, provided they would lay down their Arms, which they are always ready to do upon the Terms now propounded to them. So *Alexander* enter'd into a Negotiation with them, thinking it more prudential to purchase Peace with his Money, than expose his Person to the Hazards of War.

The *Roman* Soldiers were much offended that they spent so much Time to so little purpose, without having any Opportunity of signalizing themselves by some brave Action. While the Emperor gave himself up to his Pleasures, and to the driving of Chariots ; whereas he ought to have pursu'd his Revenge, and chastiz'd the late Insolence of the

Germans. There was at this time in the Army one *Maxime*, a Man half-barbarous, born in the Heart of *Thrace*, and in his Youth he was a Shepherd; but when he came to Mans Estate, for his Strength and extraordinary Stature he was made a Trooper, and from thence was led by the Hand of Fortune through all the inferior Posts and Offices, to the Government of Provinces, and the Command of Armies. To him, being a Man well practis'd in the Art of War, *Alexander* gave the Command of his New Levies, to train and fit them for his Service. He was very industrious in the Discharge of this Trust, which won him the general Love of all the Soldiers. He not only directed them what to do, but observ'd himself those Directions in his own Personal Department, to the end they might learn their Duty, not only by obeying his Orders, but by following his Example: And that he might join them more firmly to his Interests, he omitted no Opportunity of honouring and rewarding them; and

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he gain'd his Point: For all the young Soldiers (being for the most part *Pannonians*) became great Admirers of his Bravery, and took all Occasions of vilifying *Alexander*, often saying of him in contempt, *That he was led by the Nose by his Mother, and submitted the Conduct of Publick Affairs to the Direction of a Woman.* They reflected upon his Sloath and Cowardice in Military Matters, began to talk again very hotly of the memorable Overthrow in the East, attributing it to be chiefly occasion'd by his Laziness, which was also the Reason that as yet nothing had been done in effect against the *Germans*. Besides, they are naturally desirous of Revolutions and Changes: This was a long Reign, and they grew weary of it; they could not expect to get any thing under the present Government, in regard the Emperor was not so sollicitous to procure their Favour, as he was in the first Years of his Reign; and they might reasonably hope for greater Honours and Advantages under a Prince that was ad-

vanc'd to the Throne solely by their Interest, having no Grounds himself to expect such Promotion.

These Motives put together, made them resolve the Death of *Alexander*, and the Advancement of *Maximine*, who was their Fellow-Soldier and Companion, and was the fittest Man that could be pitch'd upon to prosecute the War against the *Germans*, by reason of his Personal Valour and Military Experience.

In pursuance of these Resolutions, they assembled in the Field arm'd, and *Maximine* at the Head of them, making as if he would only direct them in their ordinary Exercises. Some say he was privy to their Designs, and others affirm the contrary: However that was, they proclaim'd him Emperor, and invested him with the Imperial Robes. He at first declin'd and rejected the Purple; but when the Soldiers drew their Swords, and threatned to kill him if he did not comply, he chose rather to run a future Hazard, than expose himself to a present

sent Danger, and so accepted the Honour, and declar'd that he had had frequent Intimations by Dreams and Oracles, *That he should one Day sit at the Helm of the Empire*. He protested also to them, *That his Compliance in this Particular was much against his Will*; but he could not resist their Importunity: And advis'd them, *seeing they would needs have it so, instantly to stand to their Arms, and establish what they had done, by surprizing Alexander before the News of what had hapned had reach'd his Ears, and putting his Guards and Soldiers in Consternation, by which Means they might either be persuad'd to join with them in pushing on the Revolution, or they might easily be forc'd to a Submission, being unprovided of all Things for making a Resistance.*

Maximine was very careful to cherish that Affection which they had express'd for him, by doubling their Allowance of Corn, by promising large Donatives, and granting a general Pardon of all Crimes of what Nature soever: After which he led on his Men to the Emperor's

peror's Pavilion, which was not far off.

This sudden and surprizing Turn of Affairs extremely alarm'd *Alexander*, insomuch that he abandon'd his Tent, and flew out like a Mad-man, crying and trembling, and upbraiding *Maximine* with Perfidiousness and Ingratitude. He ran out into a long Enumeration of the Favours he had conferr'd upon him, and reprov'd his Adherents for rashly engaging in traitorous Designs, contrary to the Duty of their Allegiance. Nevertheless, he promis'd to grant all their Demands, and redress all their Grievances, provided they would lay down their Arms. The Soldiers that were about him encourag'd him in this Emergency by their chearful Acclamations, and promis'd to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. But as soon as that Night was over, and the News came in the Morning, that *Maximine* was advancing against them, and a Cloud of Dust was descry'd afar off, and a Noise as it were of a great Multitude

titude was heard, *Alexander* came out again into the Field, and call'd his Soldiers together, and exhorted them to be firm to him, to protect their Prince who had been brought up among them, and had govern'd for Fourteen Years with so much Gentleness and Equity, that not one Subject had so much as Cause of Complaint given him. So all Men seeming mov'd with Compassion, he bid them stand to their Arms, and put themselves in posture to receive the *Enemy*: Which they promis'd to do, but fell away by degrees, and deserted him. Some there were that imputed this Defection to the Practices of the Captain of the *Prætorian* Band, and of some of the Emperor's Confidants, and would have impeach'd them of that Fact: Others laid the Blame on his Mother, whose covetous Temper and extreme Parsimony in giving out Munificences to the Soldiers, had render'd her Son odious. They staid for some time, debating the Point to and fro, till *Maximine* came in sight, and bid them abandon a wretched Woman, and that

that easie dis-spirited Boy, who could truckle so tamely to a Mothers Tyranny, and join themselves to a Man of Courage and Conduct, who had been their Companion in Arms, and was an old and experienc'd Captain. Here-upon they all revolted from *Alexander*, and unanimously proclaim'd *Maximine* Emperor. *Alexander* in great Fear and Distraction made a shift to return to his Tent, tho' with great difficulty ; and embracing his Mother, he bewail'd his Misfortune, and (as some say) accus'd her as the procuring Cause of it, expecting every Moment the Messenger of Death.

Maximine, as soon as he was proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, order'd a Tribune and certain Centurions to dispatch *Alexander* and his Mother, and all such as pretended to make any Opposition. They forthwith executed their Warrant, rushing into the Emperor's Tent, and killing him and his Mother, and all those that seem'd to be honour'd and esteem'd by him, except such as fled and absconded for the present ; all which

which were afterwards apprehended by *Maximine*, and put to death.

This was the End of *Alexander* and his Mother, after he had reign'd Fourteen Years without spilling any Blood, or giving the Subject any just Ground of Complaint. He abhor'd all cruel and tyrannical Methods, and never put any Man to death without Legal Process. He was naturally inclin'd to Gentleness and Beneficence ; and the whole Tenor of his Government had been without Reproach or Blemish, had not the sordid Avarice of his Mother thrown some Scandal upon it.

A N

E P I T O M E

OF THE

Seventh Book.

Maxime, a Thracian, of prodigious Size, and most bloody in his Nature, opens his Reign with great Cruelties, being mov'd to it by the Conscience of his own mean Birth, and exasperated by a Combination of the Tribunes against him, and by the Defection of the Soldiers. He attacks the Germans within their Woods and Morasses, defeats and puts them to flight. He is cruel to his Enemies, but infinitely more tyrannical to his own Subjects, whose Estates he makes no scruple to seize, without any Colour or Pretence of Right. He is universally hated. A Commotion is rais'd in Africk,

Africk, where the Procurator is kill'd, and Gordian Proconsul of Africk is chosen Emperor; and having us'd Means to dispatch Vitalian Captain of the Praetorian Band in Rome, his Election is ratified by the Senate. Soon after Capellian marches against him, and quells the Commotion, and he is slain in Africk, together with his Son. Maxime leaves Pannonia, and takes his march towards Rome with his whole Army. Maximus and Balbinus are elected Emperors, and Gordian's Nephew created Cæsar. A Civil War breaks out in Rome between the Populace and the Praetorian Soldiers, of which Gallicanus was the Author.

The Seventh Book.

THe Account of Alexander's Life and Death, after he had reign'd Fourteen Years, is declar'd in the former Book. Maxime succeeded him; whereupon great Changes ensu'd. He exercis'd great Severities towards his Subjects,

Subjects, endeavouring by this Means to render himself Formidable. So the Government began to be influenc'd by new Principles, and from Mild and Gentle, became Cruel and Tyrannical. He knew he was generally distasteful to the People, in regard he was the first that from the obscurest Condition had ascended to the highest of Dignities. He was Barbarous as well in Manners as Extraction. His Nature was Cruel, agreeing with the *Thracian Genius*. So he pursu'd violent Measures, thinking thereby most effectually to establish his Empire. He was afraid that the Senate and People of *Rome* would despise him, that they would look back upon the Meanness of his Birth, and not consider him in his present Exaltation. It was commonly known and talk'd of, that he had been a Shepherd in *Thrace*, and being a tall brawny Youth was listed a Soldier to serve among his Country-men, and from thence was conducted by the Hand of Fortune to the *Roman Empire*. He remov'd all

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Alexander's Ministers and Counsellors that were appointed by the Senate. Some he sent to *Rome*, others he dis. plac'd for Malversation in their Offices. His Design herein was, that there might be no Person in the Army of Nobler Extraction than himself; that being as it were a strong Fortress, and having none about him to whom he ow'd the least Deference, he might give himself over to a Tyrannical Administration. He turn'd out all the Servants that belong'd to the Court in the late Reign, and put most of them to death, pretending Apprehensions of a Conspiracy form'd against him by them; for which he had little Ground, beside their Sorrow for the Death of the late Emperor. About this time an Accident hapned, which serv'd to encrease his Rage, and made him more forward to drive Things to Extremities. A Discovery was made of a Combination form'd against him by the whole Senate, together with divers Centurions. *Magnus*, a Nobleman of *Rome*, of Consular Dignity, was accus'd

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cus'd for endeavouring to raise a Rebellion, and practising with the Soldiers to make him Emperor. The Plot was laid thus. *Maximine* had built a Bridge, over which he design'd to pass his Army against the *Germans*: For he had a mind to signalize the Beginning of his Reign by some meritorious Action, well understanding, that his prodigious Stature and Strength of Body, together with his Military Skill and Experience, had chiefly recommended him to the Soldiers in the late Election; and therefore he was willing to establish his Reputation, and confirm the Opinion the Army had conceiv'd of him, by some Exploit answerable to it; and by the same it would be apparent to the World, that *Alexander*'s Fear, and Slackness in pushing on the War, was not blam'd without just Reason. He was very diligent in exercising his Soldiers, appear'd often in his Army, and exhorted his Men with great vehemence to behave themselves valiantly. But when the Bridge was finish'd, and he design'd to pass over

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his Army, and advance against the *Germans*, Information was made, that *Magnus* had corrupted some of his Soldiers, not many in number, but chosen Men, especially those who were appointed to guard the Bridge, which he had persuad'd them to break down as soon as *Maximine* was got to the other Side, and so he should have been betray'd into the Hands of his Enemies, all possibility of re-passing being cut off, by reason of the Depth and Broadness of the River, there being no Transport Vessels on the other Side. This is the Substance of what was discover'd. Whether it was true, or was only a Forgery of *Maximine*'s, is uncertain: I can't say any thing positively, because it was never inquir'd into; for none of the Conspirators were brought to Trial, or allow'd to make their Defence; but all that were suspected were instantly apprehended, and executed without Mercy.

Soon after the *Osrhoene* Archers revolted: The Death of *Alexander* touch'd

340 *The Life and Reign of*

them sensibly ; so meeting accidentally with *Quartinus*, a Consular Man, who had been deeply in the late Emperor's Interests, and was discarded by *Maximine*, they constrain'd him to Head them, which he did with great reluctance. Then they carry'd Fire before him in State, and put upon him the Imperial Robes, (Ornaments which afterwards prov'd fatal to him) and advanc'd him to the Empire, which was an Honour he was very far from aspiring to : But soon after he was assassinated in his Tent, when he was asleep, by an intimate Acquaintance, and one whom he esteem'd his Friend. His Name was *Macedon* ; he was Commander in Chief of the *Osrhoeni*, and 'twas by his Instigation that they revolted. There was no Ground of Distaste, nor so much as a Misunderstanding between them, to stir him up to the commission of this Barbarity on one whom he had compell'd to take upon him the Empire ; but he thought the Merit of this Action would entitle him to a great Share of

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the Emperor's Favour : So he cut off *Quartinus* his Head, and presented it to *Maximine*. *Maximine* approv'd the Treachery better than he lik'd the Traitor ; hereby he had one Enemy less than he had before : But he order'd *Macedon* to be put to death amidst his high Expectances for so signal a Piece of Service, as an Arch-Rebel to his Prince, and a Traitor to his Friend, whom by his pernicious Counsel he had misled.

These Things exasperated *Maximine*, and serv'd to encrease the standing Cruelty of his Nature. His Aspect was very terrible, and his Body so vastly big, that none of the Greek or Barbarous Champions were comparable to him. His Affairs being thus order'd, he boldly led all his Forces over the Bridge, and carry'd the War into *Germany*. His Army was very numerous ; he had with him almost the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire, together with great Numbers of *Moorish* Darters, and *Osrhoene* and *Armenian* Archers, whereof the former are subject to the *Romans*, the latter

are their Confederates. He had also a great Force of *Parthians*, consisting of Deserters, and such as fought meerly for Pay, together with Prisoners of War, that were then in the *Roman* Service. This Army was rais'd by *Alexander*, and was considerably reinforc'd, and disciplin'd by *Maximine*. The Darters and Archers are the most serviceable against the *Germans*; they fall upon them by surprize, and retreat again with wonderful expedition. *Maximine* met with no Oppolition for a long time. The *Germans* were fled: So he ravag'd the Country without controul, tho' it was then the middle of Harvest. The Villages he burnt, and gave them up to the Plunder of his Army. All their Cities and Buildings are soon consum'd with Fire; for they very rarely use Brick or Stone, but their Houses are a sort of Sheds made only of Boards fitted and fastned together.

Thus *Maximine* for a long time spoil'd and wasted the Country, giving all the Cattel that was taken among his Soldi-

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ers: But still no Enemy appear'd; for the *Germans* had retir'd out of the plain open Country, into the Fastnesses of the Woods and Fens, to the end they might decoy the *Romans* thither, where they might fall upon them among thick Woods, which would shelter them from the Enemies Darts and Arrows, and render them unserviceable, and where too the Deepness of the Bogs would be dangerous to them, in regard they were unacquainted with the Country; whereas they had the Advantage of knowing which of them were passable, and which not, and run into them every Day up to the Knees. The *Germans* also are excellent Swimmers, having no Baths beside the common Rivers.

Notwithstanding these Disadvantages, the *Romans* gave them Battel. The Emperor with extraordinary Gallantry made the Onset in Person; for the *Germans* had retreated into a deep Morass, whither the *Romans* were afraid to pursue them; so *Maximine* set Spurs to his Horse, and plung'd in up to the Belly,

making havock of all that pretended to oppose him. This Bravery of the General had its due influence on the Soldiers ; they were ashame'd to betray their Emperor, that hazarded himself so generously for them : So they all readily follow'd him. The Number of the Slain was very great on both Sides ; but the *Romans* had the better, the *German* Army being almost entirely cut off. *Maximine* acquitted himself very valiantly, insomuch that the whole Morafs, fill'd up with dead Bodies, and discolour'd all with Blood, seem'd to afford a just Representation of an Engagement at Sea.

Maximine took care not only to send Accounts of this Engagement, and his own Behaviour in it, to the *Roman* Senate and People, but caus'd it to be represented in a large Pageant, and hung up before the Senate-house, to the end the Peoples Eyes, as well as their Ears, might be duly affected with the Greatness of his Exploits. This Pageant was afterwards taken down by an Order of

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the Senate, which abolish'd all his Publick Honours. He had several other Rencounters with the *Germans*, wherein his Personal Deportment always deserv'd great Commendations ; but the Summer being far advanc'd, he return'd into *Pannonia* with many Prisoners and a rich Booty. He Winter'd in *Sirmium*, which is the greatest City in those Parts, and prepar'd there for a second Expedition in the Spring ; and he was often heard to threaten, (and he seem'd to be in earnest) that he would utterly destroy and subdue all the Barbarous Nations of *Germany*, as far as the Ocean.

Thus much for his Military Vertues. And he had certainly been a Glorious Prince, had not his Cruelty at home cast a Blemish upon his Atchievements abroad : For, what signified the Slaughter of Enemies abroad, if greater was made of the Subjects at home ? What did all the Booty and Prisoners of War avail, if the Subject was despoil'd of all he had by Injury and Oppression ? Common Informers were not only licens'd,

cens'd, but countenanc'd and encourag'd by the Government, to circumvent honest Men, and, if Occasion requir'd, to rake into secret Crimes, that had been committed in former Reigns, and had lain undiscover'd till these Times. And so partial were the Courts of Justice, that if any Man was impeach'd by a Court-Sycophant, he was certainly found guilty, and his Estate declar'd forfeit ; by which Means it often hapned, that he that reliev'd his Neighbour to day, was constrain'd himself to ask Relief the Day following. Thus were the Subjects squeez'd under a griping Tyrant, that still acted under a Pretext of supplying himself with Money to distribute among the Soldiers. His Ears were open to all sorts of Calumnies, against whomsoever vented, without any respect to Age or Quality. Several Men of eminent Condition, that were intrusted with the Government of Provinces, and the Command of Armies, after Consular and Triumphal Honours, were suddenly arrested upon slight Accusations, and

and by Order of the Emperor thrust into a Coach, and constrain'd to travel Night and Day, without any Attendants, from the East or West, or perhaps from the South, into *Pannonia*, where the Emperor at that time held his Residence. Upon their arrival they were disgrac'd and degraded, and then either put to death or banish'd.

While these Storms fell only upon single Persons, and bounded themselves within private Families, the Publick did not seem much concern'd. The Fall of Great Men is not only little regard'd by the Multitude, but some Persons that envy the Happiness of those that are above them, by a particular Malignity of Nature, rejoice at their Misfortunes.

Thus the Tyrant reduc'd several Noble Families from great Wealth to extreme Poverty. And yet all this was too little for him, his Appetite was still craving ; so he began his Rapines upon the Publick, and seiz'd at once all the Treasure of the City, to whatsoever Uses

Uses design'd, whether it was to be distributed among the People, or was to furnish the Publick Granaries, or was to defray the Expence of Games and Shews exhibited at the Cities Charge. Then he commanded all the Ornaments of Churches and other Publick Buildings, all the Statues of Gods and Images of *Heroes*, and, in short, whatever might be converted into Coin, to be melted down. These Things gave general Discontent, and afforded Matter of an universal Grief: The City, without any War or Foreign Hostility, appear'd like a Town besieged; insomuch that there arose some generous Patriots, who resolv'd to stem these Oppressions, and to guard the Temples, and rather to be sacrific'd upon the Altars, than behold the Ruine and Desolation of their Country. The ill Humour of the People both in the City and Provinces began to appear more manifestly than ever. The Soldiers themselves could not approve what he did, being often reproach'd by their Friends as the Instruments

ments of all his illegal Proceedings: So he drew, as well he might, a popular *Odium* upon himself: But no Man dar'd as yet to do any thing; they only pray'd to and invok'd the injur'd Gods, until he had reign'd Three Years compleatly, at which time the *Africans*, upon a slight Occasion, (such are the Slips of Tyrants) took up Arms and rebell'd. The Occasion was this.

The Procurator of *Carthage* was very rigid and cruel in his Government: Prosecutions were carry'd very violently against the Subject, and he extorted great Sums of Money from them; and all this was done to the end he might merit *Maxime's* Approbation, who always made choice of such Tools as he knew were the fittest for his own Purposes. The Officers of the Exchequer, tho' they were really honest Men, (which very rarely happens) considering the insatiate Avarice of the Emperor, follow'd the Example of the other Ministers, tho' much against their will, well knowing the great Hazard they were to run

run if they did not. This Procurator among his other Oppressions, proceeded with great violence against certain young Men of rich and noble Families, and obtain'd Judgment to be pronounc'd against them, intending to squeeze great Sums of Money from them, and to deprive them of the Estates and Inheritances of their Ancestors. These things highly exasperated the young Nobles ; however, they promis'd to pay the Money, only they desir'd him to respite the Payment for Three Days : In which time they form'd an Association, and drew into it all those who had been oppress'd by the Government already, or had reason to apprehend the like Usage ; and prevail'd with the Boors and Peasants to come down in the Night with Clubs and Axes, which they did accordingly, entring the City before the Morning, and hiding their Arms under their Clothes, which were such as they could be furnish'd with upon so sudden an Insurrection. Their Number was very great ; for *Africk* is very populous, and

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great Numbers of Peasants are employ'd in cultivating the Land. In the Morning the young Nobles commanded these Boors to follow them in a Body, as part of the Mob ; but charg'd them strictly not to discover their Arms, till they were assaulted by the Soldiers or People for what they were about to do. Then they went to the Procurator, and made as if they would have treated with him about the Payment of the Money afore-mention'd ; but then they suddenly fell upon him, and kill'd him before he was aware of any such Design ; at which the Soldiers began to draw their Swords, as if they would have reveng'd his Death : But they were soon dispers'd by the Boors, that came on very resolutely with their Clubs and Axes. After this Fact, so openly and so audaciously committed, the Youths grew desperate ; and having succeeded so well in their first Enterprize, thought the only way to be safe, was to attempt greater, and therefore resolv'd to make the Governor of the Province embarque in the Adventure

Adventure, and then perswade the People to a general Revolt, which had been long wish'd for by all Men, by reason of the general Hatred of *Maximine*, tho' their Fears had hinder'd the putting of it in practice: So they led the Mob at Noon-day to the Proconsul's House; his Name was *Gordian*, he was Eighty Years of age when he was made Proconsul, and had run through great Employments, and superintended divers Provinces; for which Reasons they thought he would not dislike the Proposal they were about to make to him. The Empire would come now very seasonably to crown his other Dignities. They thought also the Senate and People of *Rome* would be satisfied with their Choice, in regard he was not only sprung from Illustrious Ancestors, but had advanc'd as it were gradually through inferior Trusts and Honours, to this Supreme Dignity.

This Business hapned at a Time when *Gordian* liv'd at his private House, in the enjoyment of a Retreat from the

Fatigues

Fatigues and Ceremonies of his Publick Character. The Youths who headed the Mob, as soon as they came to the House seiz'd the Porters, and rush'd violently into the House with their Swords drawn, where they found *Gordian* reposing himself upon a Couch, and instantly put Robes of Purple upon him, and declar'd him Emperor with the usual Solemnity. So surprizing an Accident infinitely amaz'd him; he presently thought 'twas some Design against his Life: So he flung himself from his Couch upon the Ground, and besought them to spare an old Man, who had done them no Injury, and advis'd them to be cautious how they violated their Faith and Loyalty to their Prince. And when they importun'd him, and held up their naked Swords, so great was his present Fright, and so utterly ignorant was he of the whole Matter, that he could not apprehend what they meant, nor divine the Reasons of the Tumult. So one of the Youths, that was sprung from a nobler Stock than the rest, and was

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the most powerful Orator among them, commanded Silence, and laying his Hand upon his Sword, deliver'd himself to him in the following Words.

SIR, You must take your Choice of two Dangers; the one present and certain, the other future and contingent. We leave it to your Discretion, whether you'll be sav'd with us, and lay hold on this favourable Conjunction, to which we have all trusted, or be instantly murder'd by those Hands that make you this Tender of Safety. If you chuse the former, you have many and rational Grounds of Incouragement. Maximine is universally hated; and by taking him off you'll rescue us from the cruel Administration of a Barbarous Tyrant, and will encrease the Lustre of your former Actions by a considerable Accession of Glory, the just Reward of so generous an Undertaking. You will receive also eminent Acknowledgments for the same, and immortal Honours from the Roman Senate and People. But if you refuse to concur with us, we will cut you in Pieces this Day, and sacrifice our selves

selves (if need be) in the Quarrel. We have done that which we can't imagine will ever be pardon'd: We have murder'd the Procurator, that Tool of Villainy, and he has receiv'd that Reward from our Hands which his Cruelty has long cry'd aloud for. In short, Sir, if you'll engage in this Enterprize, and run the Risque that it may expose us to, we will set you upon the Imperial Throne; and so far shall this Action of ours be from being condemn'd, that the whole World shall applaud it.

In the middle of this Harangue the Mob grew impatient, and with the Concurrence of the Citizens, who were all drawn hither by the News of this Days Action, proclaim'd Gordian Emperor. He excus'd himself at first, and pretended his great Age had render'd him unable to execute so important a Trust; yet he accepted it with all his Heart; for he was naturally very desirous of Glory, and of the two Dangers was willing to chuse that which only threatened him at a distance: Nay, he was

content even to die, so he might fall with the Scepter in his Hands, and signalize the last Scenes of his Life. Then follow'd a formidable Rising; all *Africk* was in Arms, and *Maximine's* Images were demolish'd, and *Gordian's* set up in all the Towns and Cities. They also honour'd him with the Surname of *Africanus*, the Southern *Lybians* being call'd *Afri*, or *Africani*, by the *Romans*.

While these Things were doing, *Gordian* was at *Thystrum*, where he staid two or three Days after he had taken upon him the Habit and Character of Emperor: Then he march'd to *Carthage*, a rich and populous City, where he might in all Points maintain a Port and Grandeur equal to the Emperors in *Rome*. This City for Largeness, Wealth, and Number of Inhabitants, disputes the Precedence with *Alexandria* of *Egypt*, and is inferior only to *Rome*. There follow'd him all the Pageantry of a Crown. The Soldiers and tallest of the Citizens went after him, in imitation of the Emperor's Life-guard. Rods of Laurel also,

also, and Fire, Marks of Honour distinguishing Princes from Private Persons, were born before him in State; insomuch that *Carthage* for a short time represented the Imperial City of *Rome*.

Gordian sent Letters to the Chief Men in *Rome*, and to the most eminent of the Senators, the greatest part whereof were engag'd to him by Friendships and Alliances: He publish'd also Declarations directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*, setting forth the unanimous Consent of the *Africans* in his Election, and the barbarous Cruelties of the present Emperor, which he knew were universally abhor'd. Then he gave all the Assurances that could be of a gentle and benign Government, banish'd all common Informers, revers'd unjust Judgments, and allow'd the Parties aggrieved the Benefit of a new Defence. Those that were exil'd he restor'd to their Native Countries, and promis'd a Dole to the People, and a Largess to the Soldiers, greater than had ever been given before. He also laid a Train to

destroy *Vitalian* the Captain of the *Prætorian* Band, who was a cruel and a bloody Man, and a firm Friend to *Maxime* and his Interests, to which he was entirely devoted: For he foresaw that he would vigorously oppose his Designs, and affright other People from stirring in his behalf: So he sent the *Quæstor* of the Province, a bold brawny Youth, that was in the flower of his Age, and ready to run any Hazard in his Service, and order'd certain Centurions and Soldiers to accompany him, and gave him Letters seal'd with two Seals, in which secret Intelligences are wont to be imparted to the Emperor. They were instructed to enter the City in the Night, and go directly to *Vitalian* in his Office where he us'd to take and examine all secret Informations and Discoveries which any way concern'd the Emperor's Safety. As soon as they came to him, they were to acquaint him, *That they had Letters for Maximine that contain'd secret Advices, and that they were sent upon Business that nearly concern'd the Safety of*

his Person: After which they were to desire a private Conference, wherein they might lay before him their Instructions in the Affair they were sent about; and while he was viewing the Seals, they might pretend to speak to him, and so fall upon him with their Poniards and kill him: All which succeeded as he desir'd. They came to him before it was light, about which time he was commonly stirring, and found him unattended and almost alone: Some were not yet come, others had been at his Levy, and were gone again. He was at leisure, so they were easily admitted, and acquainted him with their Business, and deliver'd the Letters; and while he was poring over the Seals, they assaulted and kill'd him; and when they had done, bolted forth with their naked Poniards, and escap'd; the People that were before the Door of his Office retiring in astonishment, and giving them way; for they suppos'd that all had been done by the Emperor's Order, who had often rewarded the Services of his great-

est Favourites in the same manner. Then they came into the *Sacred Way*, and dispers'd *Gordian's Declaration*, that was directed to the People, and deliver'd the Letters to the Consuls and the rest, and spread abroad Rumors that *Maximine* was slain: Upon which the People ran about, as if they had been seiz'd with some sudden Frenzy; for the *Mobile* in all Countries is the same, fickle, inconstant, Lovers of Changes and Revolutions; yet of all Nations under the Sun, the *Romans* are certainly the most capricious, in regard they are compounded of so many differing and Foreign Mixtures.

In this sudden Tumult all *Maximine's* Statues were pull'd down, all Men flung off the Masque, now they were deliver'd from the Fears which had oblig'd them to wear it, and discover'd their Hatred and Detestation of the Tyrant. The Senate, without examining the Grounds of the Report concerning his Death, conjecturing only from the present Stream of Affairs, proclaim'd *Gordian* and

and his Son Emperors, and abrogated all the Honours that had been heap'd upon *Maximine*. All common Informers and Court-Sycophants either fled, or were cut to Pieces by those whom they had injur'd: The Procurators and Judges, those Tools and Instruments of Tyranny, were dragg'd by the People into the Common Shore. Beside these, many innocent Men were sacrific'd during this Publick Disorder; Debtors kill'd their Creditors; and if any Man had an Adversary in a Suit then depending, or the least Ground of private Resentment against a Person, he boldly rush'd in upon him, and with Force and Arms rifled the House, and slew the Master. Thus, under pretext of Liberty and Peace, was the Empire thrown into Convulsions, and felt the Effects of a Civil War: And when *Sabinus*, a Consular Man, and Praefect of the City, endeavour'd to repress these Insolencies, he had his Scull split by a Blow which he receiv'd on his Head with a Club: So great were the Outrages committed at this

this time by the People. The Senate too had proceeded so far, that they durst not retreat for fear of *Maximine*: So they set all Engines at work to make the Provinces revolt: They sent Ambassadors to the *Præfects* Men chosen out of the Senate and Gentry of *Rome*, and gave them Letters declaring the Sense of the *Roman* People and Senate in relation to the present Juncture of Affairs, and exhorting them to join with them in asserting the Liberty of their Country, and of the Great Council of the Empire, and in persuading the Provinces to persevere in their Duty and Obedience to the People of *Rome*, in whom the Empire of the World had been lodg'd for divers Ages, and to cultivate that Amity which had been so happily begun and maintain'd by their Ancestors. The Ambassadors met with a kind Reception in most Places, and found a general Disaffection in the Provinces to the present Government, which they improv'd into an actual and open Rebellion. Such Magistrates as adher'd to

to *Maximine* were kill'd, and the rest fell in with the Faction in *Rome*. Some few indeed there were that kill'd those that were sent to them, or sent them away with a strong Guard to *Maximine*, who put them to exquisite Torments. These were the Dispositions of the People in *Rome*.

Maximine upon receiving the News hereof was much troubled in Mind, but would not reveal his secret Agonies to the World, but pretended to despise all these Things as the harmless Efforts of impotent Men: Nevertheless, he staid at home all the first and second Day after the News came, and advis'd with his Council about the Measures to be taken in the present Exigency. The Army and People in those Parts knew very well the whole Rise and Progress of this Rebellion, and were astonish'd at so bold an Attempt; but they held their Tongues, and pretended Ignorance of the whole Business; for so great were the Jealousies of the Emperor, that he set Spies to observe not only the Words but

but even the Nods and Motions of the People. On the third Day he commanded the Army to assemble before the Gates of the City, where he read a short Speech to them, which his Friends had compos'd for him, in the following Words.

**MAXIMINE'S SPEECH to the
ARMY.**

Gentlemen,

I Have something to impart to you which is very strange, and almost incredible ; tho' truly, in my opinion, it deserves rather to be laugh'd than wonder'd at. 'Tis not the Germans, whom you have so often vanquish'd, that contemn the Reputation of your Valour, and have taken up Arms against us ; nor the Sarmatians, who make such constant Applications to this Court for Peace ; nor the Persians, who some Years ago over-ran Mesopotamia, but are now glad to possess what they have in quiet : The Glory of your Arms, and their Experience of our Courage, when we commanded the Army upon the River,

ver, has effectually deterr'd them from attempting any thing against us : But (that I may say no worse) an Epidemical Madness has seiz'd the Carthaginians, and they have, either by Perswasion or Force, set up an old Wretch, that is ready to drop into the Grave, to act as it were the King in a Play. For what Army can they have to support his Pretensions, who are forc'd to make Lictors execute the Commission of Proconsul ? Or, admitting they had Men, what would that avail without Arms ? And 'tis well known they have none, besides the Half-Pikes which they use in hunting Wild Beasts. And for Martial Discipline, there is no such thing amongst them ; but in stead thereof, Songs, Dances, and loose Raillery.

Nor would I have any of you disheartned by the Advices which we receive from Rome. Vitalian is treacherously murder'd, and you are all acquainted with the Levity and Inconstancy of the Roman People, and know very well how much their Words are more formidable than their Actions. Three or four armed Men would put them all in disorder ; and while every Man shifted for himself, they

they would all abandon the Common Cause. As for the Proceedings of the Senate, 'tis no wonder that my Temperance hath been distasteful, and that his Luxury is more agreeable to them, as suiting better with the vicious Humour prevailing amongst them. There is nothing done worthy of a Man or a Prince, but they brand it with the black Epithets of Cruel and Tyrannical; and, on the other Hand, the most scandalous Immoralities are cry'd up under the popular Names of Gentleness and Clemency. And this is the Reason that they dislike the present Government, 'tis too regular and uniform for them; and 'tis on the same score that they extol Gordian, to whose Infamy, I suppose, none of you are Strangers. These are the Men with whom we are to wage War, if it may deserve that Name; tho' truly I and most Men are of Opinion, that as soon as we set Foot in Italy, they will all cast themselves at our Feet with their Children, and with Olive-branches in their Hands, entreat for Mercy; except such whose Fears won't suffer them to do even that. Their Estates will fall into my Hands, and I shall take care to distribute them

them amongst those whose Services shall best deserve them.

After he had deliver'd himself to this effect, and had by the way thrown many Reproaches upon the Senate and People of Rome, menacing with his Hands and Countenance, which was as full of Indignation as if the Persons that had thus inflam'd him had been present, he proclaim'd his Expedition for Italy, and distributed great Sums of Money among the Soldiers. The second Day after he began his March, with a numerous Army, and the whole Military Force of the Roman Empire. There follow'd him also several German Regiments, consisting of such as he had either subdu'd by Force, or prevail'd upon by Perswasion to embrace his Friendship and Alliance. He carried with him also all the Engines of War which he intended to make use of against the Germans. He march'd the more slowly, because he was oblig'd to take up Carriages and other Necessaries by the way:

For

For the Expedition being sudden, due Care had not been taken in providing Things for the Use and Necessities of the Soldiers; the Preparations, such as they were, being made in haste and confusion. So he judg'd it advisable to send out a strong Detachment to surprise *Italy*, before the Grofs of his Army should arrive. For this important Piece of Service he pitch'd upon the *Pannonian* Cohorts, being those in which he most confided, because they were the first that proclaim'd him Emperor, and had on all Occasions declar'd their Forwardness to venture all they had in his Service.

While *Maximine* was upon his March, the Designs of the *Carthaginian* Faction went not on so prosperously as was expected. *Capellian*, a Noble Senator, was at this time Gouvernour of *Mauritania*, which by the *Romans* is call'd *Numidia*, and had considerable Forces under his Command, which are maintain'd for the defence of the Province against the Insults of Barbarous Enemies.

There

There was, and had been for divers Years, a Misunderstanding between *Gordian* and this *Capellian*, occasion'd at first by a Suit in Law: So when *Gordian* was declar'd Emperor, he nominated a Person to succeed him, and commanded him to depart out of the Province. Nettled with this Indignity, and being besides a great Stickler for *Maximine*, (for 'twas he that rais'd him to this Dignity) he call'd his Soldiers together, and exhorted them to preserve inviolate their Faith and Allegiance to *Maximine*, and march'd directly to *Carthage* with a gallant Army, compos'd of brave Men, in the flower of their Age, well appointed and disciplin'd, and by reason of their frequent Rencounters with the Barbarians, forward enough to give the Enemy Battel.

As soon as *Gordian* was advertis'd of the Approach of this Army, he was in great Conternation. The *Carthaginians* were also alarm'd, and relying more on the Number, than the Order and Disposition of their Forces, march'd all out to meet *Capellian*.

B b Some

Some say, that *Gordian*, as soon as he arriv'd at *Carthage*, considering the great Strength of *Maximine*, and that there was no Force in *Africk* able to oppose him, strangled himself; but the Citizens concealing his Death, made choice of his Son to head them, and coming to an Engagement, the *Carthaginians* were superior to the Enemy in Number, but without Order, and undisciplin'd. They had liv'd a long time in an uninterrupted Tranquillity, and were enervated by Ease and Pleasure, to which they had resign'd themselves. Besides, they were unprovided of Arms, and all sort of Ammunition; only each Man brought with him from home an Ax, or a Dagger, or a Hunting Lance, or a Stake burnt and sharpened at the end, for the Defence of his Body. On the other Hand, the *Numidians* were expert Archers, and excellent Horsemen, insomuch that they ride without Bridles, with a Switch only in their Hand, with which they could manage and command their Horses as they thought fit: So they easi-

sily put the *Carthaginians* to flight, who did not expect till the Charge was given, but flung away their Arms, and fled with such precipitation, that more of their Men were kill'd by their own Party, that trampled upon and ran over them in the Disorder of the Flight, than by the Sword of their Enemies.

Gordian's Son was kill'd in this Action, with all those that were near his Person; and so great was the Number of the Slain, that several Persons of Note, and amongst the rest *Gordian's* Son, could not be found to receive Funeral Honours. Of those that fled, such only escaped as got into *Carthage*, and put themselves into a Concealment in that large and populous City; but their Number was but small. As for the rest, while every Man press'd forward, and endeavour'd to enter the Town, they stopp'd and hinder'd one another, and were all cut in Pieces by the Soldiers that pursu'd them, before the Faces of their Wives and Children, who express'd all the Degrees of Grief

that such a Tragedy might justly occasion.

Others report, that as soon as *Gordian*, who by reason of his Age staid at home, receiv'd an Account of the unfortunate Issue of this Engagement, and that *Capellian* had enter'd *Carthage*, considering his Condition as desperate, he withdrew into his Bed-chamber alone, as if he would lie down upon his Couch, and there strangled himself in his Girdle.

This was the End of *Gordian*, who after a long Course of prosperous Fortune, dy'd in an imaginary Empire.

Capellian, immediately after his Entrance into the City, put to death all the Men of principal Consideration that surviv'd the Battel, and seiz'd into his Hands all the Treasure both Publick and Private, nor sparing even the Temples. He dealt also in the like manner with the other Cities that had demolish'd *Maximine's* Statues, putting to death the leading Men, and banishing the rest, giving up all the Country to the Plunder and Ravage of his Soldiers. This

he

he did under pretext of punishing them for their Defection from *Maximine*; tho in truth his Design was to ingratiate with the Soldiers, that if any thing should happen to *Maximine*, he might have at his beck a Force sufficient to establish him upon his Throne. This was the State of Affairs in *Africk*.

Upon the News of *Gordian's* Death, the Senate and People of *Rome* were in great Consternation. He was the Man they chiefly relied upon; and they knew very well that *Maximine* would never forgive them. He always hated them in his Heart, and now he had just Reason to proceed against them as his profess'd Enemies. So a Consult was resolv'd upon, wherein they were to debate about the Measures to be taken in this hazardous Conjunction. The Result was, *That there should be a general Insurrection; that two Emperors should be chosen, in whose Hands the Supreme Power should be lodg'd, that their Constitution might not a second time be endanger'd by Tyranny*. The Assembly was not held in the Senate-

House, but in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to which the *Romans* pay singular Veneration, as if nothing was to be done but in the Presence, and with the Approbation and Concurrence of the God. Then some of the eldest and most Noble of the Senators were made choice of to be propos'd to the Assembly; after which they proceeded to vote, and the Majority being found for *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, they were declar'd Emperors.

Maximus had commanded several Armies, had been *Prefect* of the City, and acquitted himself very honourably in that Trust; by which means he establish'd the Character of a Good Man and a Prudent Governor. *Albinus* was of a Noble Family, and had been twice Consul. He had govern'd divers Provinces without Blame or Censure, and in his Conversation was an open plain-dealing Man. After their Election, they were proclaim'd, and invested in the Imperial Dignity by Decree of the Senate.

While

While these Things were transacting in the *Capitol*, the People came to understand what was in agitation, either by some Rumours that were spread abroad, or by some Intimation which they receiv'd from *Gordian's* Party. So they went up in a tumultuary manner with Stones and Clubs to the Gates, and possess'd all the Avenues to the *Capitol* with a numerous Mob, and endeavour'd to oppose the Proceedings of the Senate. They excepted chiefly against *Maximus*, as being too severe and rigid for them. He had been very active in executing the Laws upon bad Men, so they were apprehensive of his Government, and declar'd their Dislike of him aloud, with their Clamours mixing Menaces to kill them both as soon as they came out. They demanded a Prince of the Race of *Gordian*, that the Empire might remain in that Name and Line. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, with a Guard compos'd of the City-Troops, and some Gentlemen of *Rome*, attempted to force their Way out of the *Capitol*,

B b 4

but

but were beat back with Stones and Clubs, till at last somebody found a Way to impose upon the People.

There was a young Lad, Son to *Gordian's* Daughter, who was call'd after his Grandfather: Him they order'd to be brought to them, and sent certain Persons to fetch him, who found him at home, and at play; and setting him upon their Shoulders, carried him through the middle of the Mob, shewing him to the People as they went along, and crying aloud, *Behold Gordian's Grandson!* and calling him often by his Name. The People all the time express'd their Affections to him in Shouts of Joy, and as a farther Token thereof, scatter'd Flowers upon him as he pass'd through them. The Senate declar'd him *Cesar*, in regard the Tenderness of his Age made him unfit to have the Regency in his Hands; and the Mob being appeas'd, the Emperors Elect were suffer'd to go quietly to their Palace.

About

About this time an Accident hapned of very fatal Consequence to the City of *Rome*, occasion'd by the Rashness of two Senators. The Senate met to consider of the State of the Empire, and some of *Maxime's* Soldiers, that by reason of their Age were excus'd from any further Service in the Wars, and were left in the Camp, being desirous to inform themselves of the Matters then under Debate, came without their Arms to the Door of the Senate, and mixing with the other Crowd, staid there to listen; and two or three at the most, that were more curious than the rest, press'd in, till they were got beyond the Altar of *Victory*: Whereupon *Gallianus*, a *Carthaginian*, who had lately been Consul, and was then Senator of *Rome*, together with *Mæcenas*, who had been *Prætor*, making up to them, stabb'd them to the Heart with Poniards which they carried privately about them, before they could pluck their Hands from under their Cloaks; so sudden was the Assault, and so little were they aware of

of it. For about that time all the Senators wore Swords, and had worn them ever since the late Tumult, either publickly or privately, for the Defence of themselves against any Attempt which might be made upon them by their Enemies. The Soldiers that were stabb'd fell down dead before the Altar, and the rest were so terrified with the Misfortune that befel their Friends, and so apprehensive of the Rage of the People, especially at a time when they were without their Arms, that they betook themselves instantly to their Heels.

Gallicanus rush'd out of the Senate into the middle of the Crowd, and held up his Hand and Sword all cover'd with Blood, so as all the People might see it, and then exhorted them *to pursue and put to the Sword all Maximine's Creatures and Adherents, as Enemies and Traitors to the Senate and Common-wealth.* The Mob was easily inflam'd, and applauding *Gallicanus*, pursu'd the Soldiers as far as they could, with great eagerness, pelt-ing them all the way with Stones: But they

they were too nimble, and got into the Camp before them, and shutting the Gates, resolv'd to defend themselves as well as they could; for they were but few in Number, and the most of those too wounded.

Gallicanus, after this unparallell'd Boldness, was very industrious to embroil the Empire in a Civil War, which prov'd very mischievous to the Publick Weal: For he commanded the Publick Armo-ries to be broke open, and order'd every Man to take out Arms for himself, tho' they were altogether unfit for Service, and intended only for Shew. The Fenc-ing Schools were likewise open'd, and the Gladiators order'd to march out in their proper Armour. Nor was there any Sword, Spear, Ax, &c. in any Shop or Private House, but was seiz'd upon, and carried away by Force: And so high ran the Popular Fury at this time, that every Thing they laid Hand upon, if it was possible, was presently converted into some sort of Weapon. After they were arm'd, they march'd in a Body to

the

the Camp, and invested it, as if it had been a Town, which they purpos'd to besiege; but the Defendants were old experienc'd Soldiers, and made such use of their Targets, and of the Shelter which their Ramparts afforded them, that the Assailants could not annoy them; but, on the contrary, they gall'd them with their Arrows, and push'd them from the Walls with long Pikes, which they repeated as often as the Enemy had Courage to renew their Attacks, till at last the People grew weary, and the greatest part of the Gladiators being wounded, and the Night coming on, all were willing to return into the City: Which the Soldiers in the Camp perceiving, and observing how disorderly and unguarded their Retreat was, (for they did not imagine that so small a Number of Men durst sally out upon so great a Multitude) they pour'd out their whole Force upon them, and cut off the Gladiators entirely, with great Numbers of the Common People, which perish'd in the Hurry of this Action. After

After this Success the Soldiers did not think fit to pursue their Blow, but retir'd to their Camp, and kept themselves within their Walls.

This Defeat serv'd only to exasperate the Senate and People of *Rome*: So their Captains proceeded to the making their Levies, and a general Rendezvous was appointed, where all the Youth of *Italy* met, and were arm'd as well as the suddenness of the Occasion would permit. The greatest part of them were led by *Maximus* against *Maxime*: The rest were left at home for the Defence of the City.

In this Interval Assaults were every Day made upon the Camp, but without Success; the Place was still defend'd, and the Assailants always shamefully repuls'd by the Soldiers, who gave them very warm Reception from the Walls.

Twas too about this time that *Balbinus*, who staid in the City, put out an Edict, wherein he exhorted the People to an Accommodation with the Soldiers, and

and promis'd the Soldiers an Oblivion of all that was past ; but both Parties were inflexible, the People being ready to burst with Indignation, that such a Multitude should be thus out-brav'd by a Handful of Men ; and, on the other Hand, the Soldiers resenting as heinously the Treatment which they receiv'd from the People, being more inhumane than they could expect even at the Hands of Barbarous Enemies.

In conclusion, after many fruitless Attacks made upon the Walls of the Camp, it was resolv'd in a Council of War, that all Supplies of Water should be cut off from the Camp, by which Means the Soldiers would be reduc'd to such Extremities for want thereof, as would oblige them to surrender. In order hereunto, all the Rivers that supply'd the Camp were choak'd up, and their Water drawn into new Channels : But the Soldiers apprehending what Danger they were in, and growing thereupon desperate, open'd their Gates, and sally'd out in a Body, and after a sharp

Dispute,

Dispute, put the Multitude to flight, and pursu'd them into the City.

The People now perceiv'd they were much inferior to the Soldiers in a Pitch'd Battel ; so they fled into their Houses, and threw down upon them Stones and Tiles ; the Soldiers not daring to follow them, because they were unacquainted with the Houses. The Shops too, as well as the Houses, were shut upon them ; so they set Fire to the Doors, and to the wooden Porches, whereof there are great numbers in this City, and by reason of the Closeness of the Streets, and the great Quantity of Timber in the Buildings, easily laid the best part of the City in Ashes.

A great many rich Men lost in this Fire all their Precious Movables, and indeed their whole Estates, and were reduc'd to Beggary. Great numbers of Men too perith'd in the Fire, their Houses being in a Flame about their Ears, and all the Ways to escape possess'd by the merciless Element. There was scarce any rich Man's House that was not miserably

serably pillag'd during this Publick Confusion ; for all the poor Scoundrels, and profligate Wretches about Town, fell in with the Soldiers, in hopes to make their Fortune by the Plunder : And, in short, there were as many Houses consum'd by this Fire, as would make a very large City.

While these Things were doing in *Rome*, *Maximine* arriv'd in *Italy*, and having sacrific'd upon the Frontiers, proceeded upon his Journey, after he had order'd his Men to keep their Ranks, and march in their Arms. Thus we have given a summary Relation of the *African* Rebellion, of the Civil War in *Rome*, and of *Maximine's* Atchievements and Expeditions. The rest we reserve for the following Book.

A N
E P I T O M E
O F T H E
Eighth Book.

Maximine having pass'd the Alps, sits down before Aquileia ; but before he can make himself Master of the Town, is kill'd by his own Soldiers, together with his Son. Their Heads are sent to *Rome*. Maximus, one of the Emperors, disbands Maximine's Army at Aquileia, and returns to *Rome* with his own Forces. He and Balbinus administer the Empire till they are both slain by the Praetorian Soldiers. After their Death, Gordian Cæsar is made Emperor.

The Eighth Book.

AN Account of what *Maximine* did after the Death of *Gordian*, together with his Expedition into *Italy*, and the Revolt of *Africk*, as likewise a Relation of the Heats and Animosities that hapned between the Soldiers and People in *Rome*, is deliver'd in the former Book.

Maximine was now with his Army on the Frontiers of *Italy*, and sent out his Scouts before him, for fear of an Ambuscade, which might be lodg'd in the thick Woods on the *Alps*, or in the vast Inequalities of those Mountains. Then he led his Army into the Plain, and drew up his Legions into a Square Body, not regarding in what Depth they were rang'd, but taking care to extend his Front, that they might take up the more Ground. All the Baggage, Beasts, and Carriages were taken into the middle; then follow'd *Maximine* with

with his Guards to cover the Rear. The Wings consisted of Horsemen in compleat Armour, with whom were ranged the Eastern Archers, and the *Moorish* Darters. There were also divers Auxiliary Regiments of *German* Horse, which *Maximine* always oppos'd to the first Shocks of the Enemy, because they are very hot, and discharge their whole Fury in the Beginning of an Engagement, and that the Danger, if any were, might fall upon the *Barbarians*, who might the best be spar'd. Thus rang'd, he march'd over all that Champagne Country, till he came to the first City of *Italy*, which is call'd by the Natives *Ema*; 'tis situated at the Roots of the *Alps*, on the utmost Point of the Level. Here the Scouts return'd to *Maximine* with Intelligence that the Town was abandon'd, and that the Inhabitants were fled, after they had burnt all the Doors of the Houses and Temples, and carry'd away or destroy'd all they had in the City or Country adjoining, and left neither Provision nor Forage for Man or Beast.

Maximine was glad to find the People under so great a Terror, and hop'd to meet with the same Dispositions in the rest, and that none would be so hardy as to abide his Coming: But his Soldiers were differently affected; they thought it very hard that they should be oblig'd in this manner to conflict with a Famine in the beginning of an Expedition. Part of the Army lay that Night in the City, in the open Houses, the rest took up their Quarters in the Fields, and in the Morning, as soon as the Sun arose, they began their Approaches to the *Alps*.

These *Alps* are a Chain of Hills rais'd by Nature to be a Wall and a Bulwark to *Italy*: They are so high, that they seem to surmount the very Clouds; and so extended in length, that they run across the whole Country, stretching on the Left Hand to the *Tyrrhene*, and on the Right to the *Ionian* Sea. They are all cover'd with thick Woods, and are almost impassable, by reason of the narrow Paths, craggy Rocks, and steep Precipices.

Precipices. Some Tracks indeed there are hewn out by the indefatigable Labour of the old *Italians*. Here the Army was under great Apprehensions, that the Tops of the Mountains were posses'd, and all the Ways block'd up by the Enemy, to impeach their Passage; and not without just Reason, as will appear to any Man that considers the Nature of the Place: But after they had pass'd the *Alps* without any Difficulty, and encamp'd on the other side, they soon recover'd their wonted Courage, and began to triumph as if they had already vanquish'd; and Maximine did not doubt of Success now in whatever he should undertake, seeing the *Italians* durst not use the Advantages which the Difficulties of the Place afforded them, of laying Ambuscades, and annoying the Enemy without any Hazard to themselves, and of engaging them from above with the Benefit of a higher Ground.

No sooner had they pass'd the *Alps*, but the Scouts return'd with Advice,

that *Aquileia*, the greatest City of *Italy*, had shut her Gates, and that the *Pannonian* Regiments that were sent before, had made several vigorous Attacks upon her Walls, but were always repuls'd with Stones, Spears, and Arrows, which the Besieg'd shot at them without Interruption; and that now being sore fatigu'd and harrass'd, they had rais'd the Siege. Hereupon *Maximine* conceiv'd great Indignation against the *Pannonian* Soldiers, for their Behaviour in this late Action, and hastned with his whole Army to the Siege, thinking to carry the Place without any Difficulty.

Aquileia is a City populous and large, and as it were the Mart-Town of *Italy*, situate on the Sea-coast, upon the Frontiers of *Illyria*. She supplies all the Vessels that sail that way with Provisions and other Merchandise from the Continent, which are brought down thither both by Land and Water; and sends up also from the Sea into the Continent such Commodities as will not grow in the midland Country, by reason of the severe Winters.

Her

Her Staple Commodity is Wine, whereof the Product is so considerable in this Country, that all the neighbouring Provinces, that have not so much as a Vineyard amongst them, are supplied from hence: For which Reasons not only the Citizens are very numerous, but the Resort of Strangers and Merchants is very considerable: And at this time their Numbers were vastly increas'd by the prodigious Confluence of Boors and Peasants, who abandon'd all the adjacent Villages, and retir'd thither, trusting to the Largeness of the Town, and the Strength of its Fortifications, which in truth were old and ruinous, and for the most part demolish'd: For the Cities of *Italy*, after the Establishment of the *Roman Empire*, had no Occasion for Arms or Fortifications, but enjoy'd for divers Years an uninterrupted Tranquillity, and were combin'd into one Body Politick with the Capital City of the Empire: But in this Extremity of Affairs they fell to repairing the Walls, rais'd new Towers

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and

and Bastions, and encompass'd the City with a Fortification, which the People guarded Night and Day with that Skill and Bravery, that they utterly baffled all the Efforts of the Enemy.

On this Occasion *Crispinus* and *Menephilus*, two Consular Men, were made choice of by the Senate, and had the Supreme Authority put into their Hands. They took all imaginable Care to lay in Provisions for a long Siege; and as for Water, they could have Plenty out of the Pits, whereof were great Numbers within the Walls, and out of the River that ran by the Town, affording not only Supplies of Water, but the Protection of a Trench to the Besieg'd. These were the Preparations in the City.

Maxime hearing that their Gates were shut, and that the City was in posse of Defence, thought it most advisable to send Commissioners to treat with them, and try whether by that means they could prevail upon them to open their Gates. There was in his

Army

Army at that time a Tribune, a Citizen of *Aquileia*, whose Wife, Children, and Family were amongst the Besieg'd; him therefore, and certain Centurions, he sent to them, supposing that his Advice would have such weight with his Fellow-Citizens, as would easily induce them to follow it. When they came to the Wall, they spoke to them to this effect.

Gentlemen, *Maxime* our Leige Lord commands you to lay down your Arms, and to receive him not as an Enemy, but a Friend; and advises you rather to sacrifice to the Gods, than to spill the Blood of Men. He would have you duly affected with the Ruine and Desolation of your Country, which, if you be obstinate, will certainly ensue. 'Tis in your own Power to preserve at once both your Country and your selves. So gracious is our Prince, that he offers you Pardon and Indemnity for all that is past, being well assur'd, that what you have hitherto done, has intirely proceeded from the Instigation and Practices of others.

These

These Words were pronounc'd by the Commissioners under the Wall, in a loud Voice, so that all the People that stood upon the Walls or Ramparts, except such as were upon Duty in the remote Parts of the Town, heard what was said; for they all kept silence, and gave attention; insomuch that *Crispinus* began to be afraid, and not without just Reason, considering the Instability of the Multitude, lest they should be won upon by fair Promises to make a Peace with the Emperor, and to open their Gates: So he ran to and fro upon the Walls, exhorting them to a gallant Resistance, and beseeching them to hold it out to the last, and not to violate their Faith and Allegiance to the Senate and People of *Rome*.

He re-minded them also of the Glory of being the Deliverers and Protectors of *Italy*, which they would merit by a brave Deportment in this Juncture; and advis'd them not to believe the Professions of a perjur'd and a faithless Tyrant, who was then actually contriving their

their Destruction, and made use of fair Words only to disguise, and thereby more surely to effect his hidden Purposes. He told them, *That it was better to trust to the Chance of War*; *that a Handful of Soldiers had often baffled a formidable Army*; *and that a mighty Host had been often vanquish'd by a small Band of Men*; *that there was another Reason why they should not be dismaid at his Numbers*; *for when Soldiers fight for other Men, to whom all the Advantages of Success redound, they are apt to fight but lazily, and as Men not concern'd in the Issue of the Battel*; *for they know very well, that tho' they are admitted to a Share in the Hazards and Dangers that must be encounter'd in the obtaining a Victory, yet when 'tis obtain'd, the whole Benefit of it accrues to other Men*; *whereas when Men fight for the Preservation of their Country, besides that they have better Grounds of Hope than the others, (in regard they don't invade other Mens Property, but only guard their own) they go on too with more Alacrity and Clearfulness, because on this Occasion they don't obey the Commands of other*

other Men, but the Dictates of their own Necessity, and contend for a Victory, the whole Fruit and Benefit whereof will be intirely their own.

These and the like Considerations *Crispinus* suggested to them, sometimes addressing himself to the whole Company, sometimes to particular Persons. He was a Man naturally of an august Presence, and very powerful in the *Roman Eloquence*; he was too universally belov'd, by reason of the great Gentleness and Equity of his Government: So he confirm'd them in their first Resolutions, and commanded the Commissioners to depart from the Walls without effecting what they came for.

'Twas said, that *Crispinus* was animated to the making this resolute Defence, by the Soothsayers, who upon examination and view of the Entrails of the Victims, gave him great Encouragement, than which nothing makes stronger Impressions upon the *Italians*. There was also a Report handed about, *That a God of the Country, call'd by the Italians Beles,*

Beles, and suppos'd to be Apollo, and had in great veneration in those Parts, had foretold that he should be victorious. And some of *Maxime's* Soldiers affirm'd, *That they saw the Image of this God fighting in the Air in defence of the City.* Whether this was true, or it was only a Story contriv'd to lessen the Reproach that would otherwise fall upon so great an Army, for fighting so unsuccessfully with an undisciplin'd Mob, inferiour to themselves in Number, and therefore they would appear to the World to have been vanquish'd rather by Gods than Men, I leave a Question. However it was, an Event so strange and surprizing made all Things more credible.

The Commissioners return'd to *Maxime*, and their ill Success serv'd only to inflame him to a higher Degree of Rage; so he made swifter Advances with his Army towards the City: But when he came to a River about Sixteen Miles from the Town, he found it exceeding broad and deep, it being the time of the Year when the Snow that is frozen upon

upon the neighbouring Hills in the Winter, was melted, which had swell'd the River to so prodigious a height, that it was absolutely impossible to pass his Army over it: For the *Aquileians* had taken care to break down a large and goodly Bridge, built there of square Stone some Ages ago by the Emperors of *Rome*: So there being no Bridge, nor any Transport-Vessels to carry over his Army, he was oblig'd to make a Halt, being utterly at a loss what Counsels to pursue.

Some of the *Germans*, being unacquainted with the strong and rapid Current of the *Italian* Rivers, supposing that they flow'd as gently as those in their own Country, (which for want of a quick and violent Agitation are soon frozen) ventur'd to take the River with their Horses, which tho' they could swim very well, were all carried down by the force of the Stream, and drown'd.

Maximine entrench'd his Army, for fear of a Surprize; and having staid in his Pavilion two or three Days, went

out

out to view the River, and contrive a Bridge over it; but wanting Materials, *viz.* Timber and Boats, he was inform'd by his Engineers, that in the abandon'd Villages there were great Numbers of round empty Vessels of Wood, which the Inhabitants made use of to carry their Wine in; these were made hollow like Ships, and they were of opinion, that they would float upon the Water like so many Wherries, and if they were fastned together, and cover'd with Wicker, and good store of Earth cast upon them, they would be firm enough to stem the violence of the Current.

By the help of this Project *Maximine* easily pass'd the River with his Army, and advanc'd towards the City. They found all the Country-Villages, as they march'd along, forsaken by their Inhabitants, and burnt and cut down all the Vines and other Trees, utterly destroying all the Ornaments and Glory of the Country: For the Trees are rang'd in such beautiful Order, and the Vines so artfully dispos'd, that their Branches mingle

mingle as they grow, and afford a most delightful Prospect ; the whole Country appearing to the Eye to be adorn'd with Crowns and Garlands, as at some solemn Festival.

But now all these were rooted up by the ravaging Army , after which they advanc'd to the Walls of the City: But in regard the Soldiers were sore harrass'd in their March, *Maxime* did not think fit to attack the Town presently ; so he encamp'd out of the reach of the Enemies Arrows, and divided his Army into Cohorts and Parties, assigning to each of them a part of the Wall ; and allowing one Day only for Rest, prepar'd the Day following for the general Assaule.

Accordingly at the Day they made their Approaches with all sort of Warlike Engines, and assaile'd the Walls with great Fury, leaving no manner of Assaule unattempted. This was repeated almost every Day, fresh Attacks being made with great Vigour and Gallantry, and the Walls surrounded by a powerful Army.

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Notwithstanding this , the *Aquileians* made a brave Defence ; the Doors of the Temples and Houses were shut, and all the People , without excepting even Women and Children , mounted the Towers and Bastions to fight against the Common Enemy. There was no Age of Life so utterly useles and disabled for Service, but on this Occasion was actually in Arms for the Defence of their Country. The Suburbs, and what-ever Houses were without the Gates of the City, were demolish'd by *Maxime*, and the Timber converted into Battering Engines, with which he essay'd to make a Breach in the Wall, at which his Army might enter, being resolv'd to plunder the City , and lay it level with the Ground , and to leave the Country around waste and desolate. He thought it would not be for his Glory and Reputation , to proceed on his March to *Rome*, before he destroy'd from its Foundations the first City in *Italy* that oppos'd his Arms : So he rode through his Army (with his Son whom he had made

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Cæsar)

Cesar) mixing Entreaties with Promises, to raise and excite the Courage of his Soldiers.

But the *Aquileians* tumbled Stones down upon them, and fill'd Barrels, with long Handles fix'd to them, with Pitch, Sulphur, and other Bituminous Matter, and when the Enemy approach'd the Walls, shovr'd down upon them Streams of scalding Pitch, which, with the other combustible Matter, lighting upon the naked Parts of the Soldiers Bodies, spread it self all over them, insomuch that they instantly fell to stripping themselves: Off went their Coats of Mail, and all their other Armour, and happy he that could get rid of them; for the Iron was glowing hot, and the Leather parch'd and shrivel'd with the Fire. There you might see their Arms lying on the Ground, like Spoils taken from them, not by Force, but Stratagem. The best part of the Army had their Eyes burnt out, and their Hands, Faces, and all the other naked Parts of their Bodies miserably scorch'd.

scorch'd. Moreover, they cover'd Firebrands with Pitch and Rozin, and sharpened them at the Ends like Arrows, which being lighted and darted into the Engines so as to stick fast, easily set them on fire. At the first Fortune held the Scales pretty equal; but after a while, *Maxime's* Soldiers meeting with warmer Entertainment than they expected, grew weary and disheartned. Those who they thought could not withstand the first Shocks of their Assaule, made a stout and resolute Resistance. On the other Hand, the *Aquileians* receiv'd new Accessions of Courage and Vigour, and by frequent Rencounters arriv'd to a tolerable Skill and Adress in Military Matters, and made so slight of the Enemy, that they could not forbear drolling upon them, not sparing even *Maxime* or his Son, but reproaching and reviling them as they rid near the Walls, and treating them with the last Degree of Scorn and Contempt.

This highly incens'd *Maximine*; for being unable to pour out his Revenge upon his Enemy, he was resolv'd his own Officers should feel the weight of his Hand: So he put most of them to death, pretending they had not push'd on the Siege so vigorously as they ought to have done; which Cruelty only render'd him more odious to the Army, and more contemptible to the Enemy.

It hapned that the *Aquileians* had store of all Sorts of Provisions, great Care being taken that the Town should be well furnish'd with all Things requisite for the Support of Man or Beast: Whereas the Army was forc'd to struggle with a Dearth and Scarcity of all Things; for they had destroy'd all the Fruit-trees, and ravag'd the Country around. They had some Tents indeed pitch'd in haste, in which part of the Army lay; the rest lay scatter'd in the open Fields, expos'd to all the Inclemencies of the Weather. No Provision or Forage could be brought into the Camp; for the *Romans* had block'd up all the

Ways

Ways into *Italy*, and to strengthen the Blockade, had built there Walls and Gates. Consular Men, and Persons of the greatest Consideration and Worth in all *Italy*, were appointed to guard the Coasts and Harbours, and to hinder the passing of any Vessels by Water, to the end that *Maximine* might have no Intelligence of what was done in *Rome*. All the Highways and Roads were diligently watch'd, and no Man suffer'd to pass; by which means it fell out, that the Army, which pretended to be the Besieger, was it self besieg'd: For neither could they make themselves Masters of the Town, nor, if they rais'd the Siege, could they go on to *Rome*, for want of Transport-Vessels and Carriages, all which were seiz'd upon before, and secur'd.

There seem'd also some Ground and Colour for the Rumour that was hand-ed about, (viz.) *That the Romans were in Arms; that all Italy and Illyria, as also the Southern and Eastern Barbarians, were engag'd with them; that they had concerted to raise a Army, out of a general Hatred*

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and

and Disaffection to Maximine; insomuch that *Maximine's* Soldiers began now to despair. They labour'd under a Want of all Things, even of Water, those poor Supplies which they had being out of the River that ran by the Town, the Water whereof was tainted by the Blood and dead Bodies which were thrown into it by the *Aquileians*, for want of a Convenience for burying them within the Walls; together with such as died in the Army by Sword, Sicknes, or Famine; of all which, this River was the common Receptacle.

The Army being thus reduc'd to the utmost Degree of Despair and Wretchedness, when *Maximine* was reposing himself in his Pavilion, (there being a Cessation of Arms for that Day) and most of the Soldiers were in their Tents, or retir'd to their respective Posts; the Soldiers that belong'd to the Camp in *Rome* under Mount *Alba*, and had their Wives and Children there, fell upon a sudden Resolve, which was, to assassinate the Emperor, that so they might deliver

deliver themselves from the Fatigues of a long and almost endless Siege, and that they might not contribute to the Desolation of *Italy*, to gratifie a Tyrant so universally hated and abhor'd: So taking Courage, they march'd at High-Noon to the Emperor's Pavilion, having made his Guards Accomplices in the Design, and after they had torn his Pourtraint out of the Ensigns, they assualted and slew both him and his Son, as he was coming out of his Tent to speak to them. The Captain of the Life-guard was sacrific'd at the same time, together with all the Favourites of the Tyrant: Their Carcasses were thrown out to be spurn'd at and trampled upon, and afterwards to be torn in Pieces by Dogs and Birds of Prey. Only the Heads of the two Emperors were cut off, and sent to *Rome*. Thus fell *Maximine* and his Son, receiving the just Rewards of a Cruel and Tyrannical Administration.

As soon as the Emperor's Assassination was made publick, the Army was

in great Astonishment. The News was not equally agreeable to all. The *Thracians* and *Pannonians*, who had been the chief Instruments of his Advance-
ment, were the most deeply afflicted ; but in regard the *Loss* could not be repair'd, they were resolv'd to be as easie under it as they could, and to partake at least seemingly of the general Satisfaction which this Massacre had given : So they laid down their Arms, and approach'd the Walls attir'd like Friends, and declaring *Maxime's* Death, requested the Besieg'd to open their Gates and receive them, who were now their Friends, tho' before they had been their Enemies.

The *Aquileians* did not think fit to comply with this Demand, but set out the Statues of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and *Gordian Cæsar*, adorn'd with Crowns and Chaplets of Laurel, expressing their Af-
fection to them in Shouts of Joy, and exhorting the Soldiers to do the like, and to own those Emperors whom the Senate and People had in their Wisdom

made

made choice of : The other Gordians (they told them) were departed to another World, and had taken their Places among the Immortal Gods. Then they furnish'd out a Market upon the Walls of the City, well stock'd with all sorts of Victuals and Wines, as also with Clothes, Shoos, and whatever a rich and flourishing City could afford.

At this the Army was infinitely more amaz'd, when they consider'd, that the City had Provisions for a long Siege, and that the Scarcity of all Things in the Camp was so extreme, that they must have perish'd by Famine before they could have made themselves Masters of so well provided a Town. So the Army sat still before the City, and was sup-
ply'd with whatever they had occasion for from thence. The Soldiers and Ci-
tizens conversing together, maintain'd an amicable Correspondence, altho' the Form of a Siege remain'd, and the *Roman* Army lay encamp'd around the Town. This was the State of Affairs at *Aquileia*.

In

In the mean time, the Couriers that were sent to *Rome* with *Maximinus*'s Head, made all imaginable Expedition, and were receiv'd with open Gates by all the Towns they pass'd through, the Citizens meeting them with Branches of Laurel in their Hands ; and having pass'd the Lakes between *Altinum* and *Ravenna*, they found *Maximus* in *Ravenna*, drawing together the choicest of the Soldiers both in *Rome* and *Italy*. He had also a considerable Reinforcement of *German* Auxiliaries, sent to him by that Province, as an Acknowledgment of his great Care and Diligence in his late Government in those Parts ; and was raising an Army against *Maximinus*, when they arriv'd with the Heads of the slain Emperor and his Son, and imparted to him the Tidings of Victory and Success, and that both Army and People were unanimous in their Approbation of the Senates Choice of Emperors.

Upon this News, so great and unexpected, the Altars were loaded with Sacrifices, and all Men join'd in the celebrating

brating a Victory which cost no Labour in the obtaining. *Maximus* having sacrific'd, order'd the Couriers to go directly to *Rome* with the Heads, and News of what had hapned.

As soon as they enter'd *Rome*, and fix'd the Head of the Common Enemy upon the Point of a Lance, so that all the People might behold it, 'tis impossible for Words to describe the Jubile of that Day. No Man staid at home ; but all, both Young and Old, throng'd to the Temples and Altars, and, as if some sudden Frenzy had seiz'd them, ran about, congratulating one another, and gather'd together into the *Cirque*, as upon some solemn Assembly. *Balbinus* sacrific'd Hecatombs, and there was no Magistrate or Senator but felt extraordinary Emotions of Joy on this Occasion, the Sword that hung over their Heads being now remov'd. Couriers also with Laurel Branches were dispatch'd to communicate the News to the Provinces.

While

While these Publick Rejoicings were making in *Rome*, *Maximus* parted from *Ravenna*, and came to *Aquileia*, having pass'd the Lakes which are made by the Exundations of the *Poe*, and the neighbouring Fens, which discharge themselves here into the Sea at Seven Mouths, for which Reason these Lakes are call'd by the Natives *The Seven Seas*. Upon his Arrival the Gates of the City were immediately open'd, and the *Aquileians* receiv'd him with all the Marks of Respect. Persons of Condition were sent to him from all the Cities of *Italy*, with Addresses of Loyalty: Their Attire was White, and they had in their Hands Branches of Laurel, and brought with them the Gods of their respective Countries, as also Crowns of massie Gold; and in token of their Affection, they scatter'd Flowers upon him, which they seconded with Wishes of Long Life and Happy Reign. The Army too that invested *Aquileia* met him with Branches of Laurel, in the Habits of Peace. Tho' this Publick Honour which they did him,

him, was not what any real Affection, but an affected Zeal and dissembled Loyalty prompted them to, they put on a Mask, that they might appear of a right Complexion for the Times: For most of them could not without Indignation and Resentment behold their own Emperor basely murder'd, and the Senates Creatures sitting at the Helm. But *Maximus*, after he had spent two Days in offering Sacrifice, upon the third order'd the Army to be drawn out into the Field, where from a Throne there erected, he deliver'd himself in the following Words.

MAXIMUS his SPEECH to the
ARMY.

Gentlemen,

THAT it was your true Interest to submit to and fall in with the Roman People, I doubt not but your own Experience has inform'd you. You have exchang'd War for Peace, and kept your Military Oath, that most Sacred Mystery of the Roman

man Empire ; and for the future if you preserve inviolate the Faith and Duty which you owe to the Senate and People of Rome, and to us your Emperors , you may live in the quiet Enjoyment of these Advantages. We are your Leige Lords , elected by the Roman People and Senate, who were mov'd solely by the Consideration of our Achievements, and the ancient Nobility of our Lineage : For the Empire is not the private Inheritance of any particular Person , but belongs to the Collective Body of the Roman People : We and you are only intrusted with the Executive Power or Authority, to administer that Empire. Now if you behave your selves as becomes good and loyal Subjects, and pay us the Respect and Honour that is due to the Persons of Princes, you may live happily under Us, in the secure Possession of all the necessary Supports of Life : And besides, your Example will have a good Influence upon all our Cities and Provinces, and will incline them to render a ready and cheerful Obedience to their several Governours. You shall not any more be barrass'd in Foreign Countries, but shall live henceforth at home,

home, according to your own Humours and Inclinations. To curb the Barbarous Nations, shall be our Charge and Province. The putting the Supreme Power into two Hands, will facilitate the Management of Affairs in Rome ; and if any thing happen in Foreign Parts, that may require the Presence of an Emperor, one of us will be always at liberty to observe the Motions on that Side. And I would not have any of you harbour a Jealousie that any thing you have hitherto done hath left any Impression upon our Minds, or upon the Minds of the Roman People, or the Provinces that revolted for Injuries then receiv'd ; seeing what you did then was in Obedience to the Commands of your Prince. Let there be then a General Oblivion of all that is past , and for the future a firm League of everlasting Amity and Friendship amongst us.

After this Harangue , he promis'd great Sums of Money to the Soldiers ; and resolving after a short Stay in Aquileia to return to Rome, order'd the Remainder of the Forces into their respective

Five Provinces and Quarters, only taking with him to *Rome* the *Praetorian* Soldiers, with the Forces commanded by *Balbinus*, and the *German* Auxiliaries, of whose Loyalty he had a singular good Opinion, in regard he had govern'd in those Parts with great Moderation, before this Advancement to the Empire. At his Publick Entry into *Rome*, he was met by *Balbinus* and *Gordian Caesar*, accompanied by the whole Senate and People, who receiv'd him with Acclamations of Joy and Triumph. After this, they administer'd the State with great Order and Gravity, to the general Satisfaction of all Ranks and Degrees of Men. The People rejoic'd, and glory'd in their Emperors, whose Noble Birth and Personal Merit render'd them worthy of the Empire. But, on the other Hand, the Soldiers were violently bent against them; they were offended with the very Acclamations of the People, and the Nobility so much cry'd up by them, minister'd Matter of Disgust to these, which was encreas'd

by

by the odious Circumstance of their being elected by the Senate. The retaining also the *Germans*, and the quartering them in *Rome*, gave them great Jealousie; they foresaw they would oppose their Designs, and suspected a Project was afoot to disarm them, and that the *Germans* were to execute it, and to have their Places if they succeeded; a late Instance whereof there was in *Severus's Reign*, who cashier'd the Guards that were concern'd in *Pertinax's Assassination*. So when the Games instituted in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were to be celebrated, and all Mens Minds were bent upon the Shews and Publick Entertainments that were made on that Occasion, upon a sudden the *Praetorian* Soldiers threw off the Mask, and boldly publish'd their Disaffection to the Government, which they had till now industriously disguis'd; and being hurry'd on by a wild Rage, ran up to the Imperial Palace, and surpriz'd the Persons of the Emperors.

It hapned at that time, there was no good Understanding between the Emperors themselves : For each strove to engross the Sovereign Power to himself ; so extravagant are our Desires of Rule, and so incommunicable is the Nature of that Power we desire. *Balbinus* laid great stres upon his two Consulships, and the Illustrious Family from whence he was sprung, and thought they gave him the Preheminence : And on the other Hand, *Maximus* valu'd himself no les upon his Government of *Rome*, and his Skill and Address in the Management of Affairs : And, in short, high Birth and great Alliances push'd them both on to the Desires of sole and uncontested Dominion ; which Thing ruin'd them both : For when *Maximus* was advertiz'd that the *Prætorian* Soldiers were in Arms, and resolv'd to sacrifice them to their present Fury, he would have sent for the *Germans* that quarter'd in *Rome* to quell this Commotion ; but *Balbinus* oppos'd it, apprehending that some Intrigue or Practice was carrying on

on against him ; for he knew very well, that the *Germans* were all devoted to *Maximus*'s Interests, and declar'd openly, that they were not sent for to repress the Insolence of the *Prætorians*; but to wrest the Sovereign Power out of his Hands, and lodge it entirely in *Maximus*.

During this Heat and Debate between the Emperors, the *Prætorian* Soldiers (those that guarded the Gates giving way) broke into the Palace, and feiz'd the Persons of the Emperors, and tearing off their Clothes, which were courser than they ordinarily appear'd in a broad, dragg'd them naked out of the Palace, treating them with all the Contempt and Indignity imaginable, even to the striking, and calling them in derision *The Senates Creatures*: They pluck'd them also by the Beard and Eye-brows, and hal'd them through the middle of the City to the Camp, not forbearing the most irreverent and barbarous Usage. They were resolv'd not to kill them in the Palace, but to reserve them for

420 *The Lives and Reigns of*
more exquisite Torments, of which they
would be longer sensible.

The *Germans*, upon notice of this Outrage, arm'd themselves in great haste, and came running to assist the Emperors ; whereupon the *Prætorian* Soldiers put an end to their Lives and Torments together, all the Parts of their Bodies being before most inhumanely mangled. Their dead Bodies they left in the open Street, and mounting *Gordian Cæsar* aloft, proclaim'd him Emperor, (because at that time they could find no body else) and cry'd aloud to the People, *That they had only destroy'd those Emperors that were made such against their will, and had elected Gordian, Nephew to that Noble Patriot of the same Name, who was constrain'd by the Roman People to take upon him the Empire.* After this they retir'd with their new Emperor into the Camp, and shut up their Gates, making no farther Effort at this time : And the *Germans* finding they were too late, and that they whom they came to rescue were slain, esteem'd it

not

Maximus and Balbinus. 421

not advisable to engage in a fruitless War, on the account of Men that were dead : So they return'd to their several Quarters.

Such was the cruel and undeserved Fate of these truly Worthy and Venerable Patriots, who were justly rais'd to the Empire, for their Noble Birth, and eminent Virtues : And *Gordian Cæsar*, who was then about the Age of Thirteen, was declar'd Emperor, and began his Reign.

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